

Gc

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL GENEALOGY COLLECTION Ge

3 1833 01071 6576



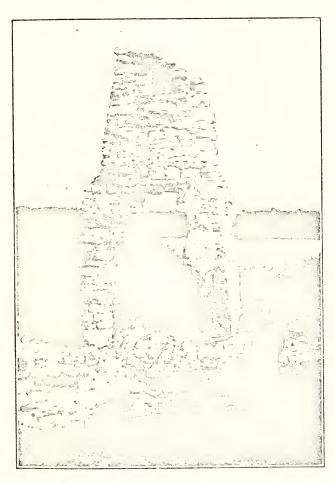


Photo by Myron E. Wheeler

Frontispiece

"THE OLD CHIMNEY" OF INDIAN CHIEF SHABWAWAY'S LOG CABIN



# A Brief History

of

# Les Cheneaux Islands

Some New Chapters of Mackinac History

ВY

FRANK R. GROVER

1911

BOWMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY EVANSTON, ILLINOIS



# 1702676

Copyright, 1911, By Frank R. Grover



15592

#### TO THE MEMBERS OF LES CHENEAUX CLUB

AND

To all those who admire the scenic beauty or appreciate the historic charm of THE IS-LANDS OF LES CHENEAUX, this book is dedicated.



## CONTENTS.

						$\mathbf{P}_{i}$	age.
Outline History .	CHAP?						7
Period of Exploration	CHAPT						15
Early Indian History	CHAPT y and			n			31
Later and Recent In-	снарт dian H						53
Period of the Pioneer	снарт s—Fa		iret		•		<b>7</b> 9
Les Cheneaux Club, mer Residents		er Ho	me				96
Origin of Names of terest		ls and	. Pl				103
	НАРТЕ	ER VIII					111
Navigation—Tides a Levels			ons				117
Hessel, Cedarville: I	CHAPT Hotels						121
British, French and Cheneaux—Engli		can S					
ry and Chippewa							124



# ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page.
"The Old Chimney" of Indian Chief Shabwaway's former Home Frontis	
Map of Les Cheneaux Islands and Vicinity, drawn by Father Marquette A. D. 1670	
"The Griffon," First Sailing Vessel of the Great Lakes	
Les Cheneaux Indian Homes of the Twentieth Century	
"Besh-a-min-ik-we," aged Ottawa Woman, and Widow of the Last Chief of the Ottawas and Chippewas	
The Old Portage Road	
Log School House on the Mainland and Road to the Sault	
Portrait of Father Andrew D. J. Piret, "Pere Michaux" of the Mackinac Novel, "Anne".	:
Father Piret's "La Ferme" at Les Chencaux and Present Day View of Same	
Views Among Les Cheneaux Islands	<b>9</b> 6-98
Typical Summer Homes	100
A Trout Fisherman	



## OUT-LINE HISTORY.

LOCATION OF THE ISLANDS—ORIGIN OF NAME OF LES CHENEAUX—THE CHANNELS—"THE SNOWS" AND "SNOW ISLANDS" ERRONEOUS NAMES—A GREAT HISTORIC HIGHWAY—USED BY EXPLORERS, FUR TRADERS, AND JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER—PART OF MICHILIMACKINAC AND THE MACKINAC DISTRICT—CHANNELS MUCH USED BY THE INDIANS—JEAN NICOLET, FIRST WHITE EXPLORER, IN 1634—MARQUETTE MAKES MAPS OF THE ISLANDS AND CHANNELS IN 1670 AND 1673.

There is probably no place in America more rich in historic associations than the Straits of Mackinac and their many islands.

To write a complete and accurate history of Les Cheneaux islands and of their many historic visitors and what these travelers saw and did, would, of necessity, require the writing of a complete history of New France, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi valley, during those memorable years of American history that have intervened since the year 1634. Indeed, if that history were both complete and accurate, much, of necessity, would be written respecting Old England, from the time of Oliver Cromwell; and of France, beginning with the days of the crafty Cardinal Richelieu and ex-

tending through and beyond the reign of that striking figure in the world's history, the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV. Then, too, to do complete justice and not overlook the most attractive and romantic subject of all—the Indian history during the same period, would require still further attention and much more extended reference than will be attempted in these pages.

Almost every year, certainly every decade, succeeding the middle of the Seventeenth century to the close of the fur trade two hundred years later was so eventful, so full of achievements of far reaching importance in the development of a vast empire, so full of that romance that will ever surround the history of this locality, the exploits and the comings and goings of those hardy and daring men who first penetrated an unknown wilderness-who first saw these islands, the lakes, the rivers, the streams, and the forests in all their primeval beauty, that one is at a loss where to begin and where to limit their consideration. Therefore, within the space devoted to a brief history of Les Cheneaux and Les Cheneaux Islands, references respecting those early years will be confined to mere outline, leaving the reader, should he be interested in a closer view, to the pursuit of the almost unlimited writings and authorities that present in entertaining detail chapters of history,



#### **OUTLINE HISTORY**

without parallel in the annals of this continent.

Les Cheneaux Islands of Lake Huron constituting a most beautiful archipelago of more than fifty islands, adjoin the main-land of the northern peninsula of Michigan, occupying from east to west a space of about twelve miles. They are at the eastern extremity of the Straits of Mackinac, constitute a part of Mackinac county and their most westerly boundary is about ten miles due northeast from Mackinac Island. These islands were well known to the Jesuits of the Seventeenth century as shown by their maps and writings.

For more than two hundred years this territory, with other adjacent lands and islands in and about the Straits of Mackinac, formed part and parcel of what was known by the term Michilimackinac, and by its modern synonym-Mackinac. As almost every reader knows Sault Ste Marie and Mackinac Island were and still continue to be most important places in the history and development of that wide domain of North America, known first as New France, later in part as the northwest territory and finally divided between the United States and Great Britain. From the year 1634 when Jean Nicolet first passed the straits and through these channels on his way to and from Green Bay and the Illinois country to the time when the American Fur company ceased opera-



tions in the year 1842—for over two centuries the vast commerce of the Great Lakes incident to the fur trade, was carried on almost entirely in birch-bark canoes and batteaux. This commerce and communication by water between the Sault and Mackinac Island was so great and so constant that this water route by way of the Saint Mary's river, Lake Huron and the Straits of Mackinac, and very frequently through the sheltering channels lying between the mainland and Les Cheneaux Islands, became one of the great and probably the most noted historic highway of inland North America. Consequently, in the latter part of the Seventeenth century and for the next succeeding two hundred years, the explorer, the Jesuit missionary and the fur trader, making his most usual voyage of the Great Lakes, reached Georgian bay in his birchbark canoe before he saw the Falls of Sault Ste Marie, and camped by night, or rested at noonday. amid the islands and channels of Les Cheneaux before he reached the Island of Mackinac

There is hardly a man of note in American history mentioned in the early annals of New France and the Mississippi valley who has not been a traveler along this historic highway. Here in their day and generation came all that great and distinguished company of Jesuit missionaries, explorers and fur traders who both made and wrote



#### OUTLINE HISTORY

the history of New France and the Mississippi valley in the very eventful years of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries and whose names are stamped indelibly upon the maps of all our states.

This water highway was, as we know from tradition, for untold years before the coming of the first white man, of equal importance to the Indian tribes in their many and frequent wanderings and migrations about the Great Lakes and to and from the adjacent mainlands.

Father Dablon, writing in 1670, says of Mackinac:

"It forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the South as does the Sault for those of the North. For in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to reach the French settlements."

The references of Mr. Thwaites to this locality in his "Story of Mackinac" are also of interest. Says Thwaites:

"Early recognized as a vantage point, commanding the commerce of the three upper lakes of the great chain—Huron, Michigan and Superior—red men and white men have struggled for its mastery, tribe against tribe, nation against nation. The fleur-de-lis, the union jack and the stars and stripes, have here, each in their turn, been symbols of conqueror and conquered" " "When at last armed hostilities ceased through the final surrender to the Republic, when the tomahawk was buried and the war-post painted white—the commercial struggle of the great fur-trade companies began. Their



rival banners contested the sway of lands stretching from Athabasca to the Platte, from the Columbia to Georgian Bay. It is a far cry from the invasion of Chippewa Michillimackinae by the long haired coureurs de bois of New France to the invasion by that later and modern army of summer tourists."

There are but few visitors to the Straits of Mackinac, whether they come for a day or for the summer months, who are not, in some measure, acquainted with the most interesting history of "The Fairy Island." Countless writers have painted countless word pictures of its legends, its life and history, covering nearly three centuries of time. The novelist, with this inexhaustible mine for characters and historic scenes; the Jesuit Fathers in their yearly Relations; the fur trader in his memoirs and reports; the writers of American history, and lastly, those somewhat numerous, and industrious folk who in these modern days write small guide books and pamphlets for the summer tourist. have in their time and in the aggregate, portrayed this historic island from almost every conceivable view point. In all these writings the near-by Islands of Les Cheneaux, although forming part of the same district where all these historic scenes were enacted, have been sadly neglected by most, if not all, of these writers.

To those who have spent even a single summer among this beautiful group of islands and have the slightest inclination for historical research, it



#### OUTLINE HISTORY

must indeed be a sad disappointment to find, that, in most of the recent histories of Mackinac and the Mackinac country, Les Cheneaux is either ignored or dismissed with some scant reference respecting its merits for the sport of modern anglers and fishermen. When it is remembered, as will be shown later, that Father Marquette drew, with his own hands, in the year 1670 and again in the year 1673, the first two maps ever made of these islands, tracing with reasonable accuracy the outlines of the largest one of the group—an island more than twice the size of the Island of Mackinac, and which, for at least a century has borne Father Marquette's name, it certainly will not seem out of place to give this historic spot more than passing reference.

In so doing it will be the purpose and aim of the writer to regard as nearly as possible the title page and present in "a brief history of Les Cheneaux Islands," what he has been able to learn of this locality, omitting for the most part what has been so ably and repeatedly written of Mackinac Island. If the reader should then be interested in that nearer view, and consider the books and writings, or any small part of them, referred to in the appended notes worth the reading, these pages will have served in some measure a useful purpose.



The name of these islands—Les Cheneaux, is a French term meaning "The Channels," and originating, no doubt, as it is said, by reference to the many channels or narrow bodies of water between the islands and the mainland and between the islands themselves. As to when they were first so called cannot be definitely stated; probably before white men saw them, for the Indians knew this locality as "Onomonee," or "Anaminang," meaning, it is said on good authority, also, The Channels. The name has had several corruptions both in spelling and in pronunciation—for illustration: In some of the earlier writings and Indian treaties the name is spelled phonetically—"The Islands of the Chenos." In recent days it has been such a task to explain to the average summer tourist the meaning and pronunciation that some modern natives and others have in despair, cut the matter short and very erroneously designated them, both in print and conversation as "The Snows." Again. the newcomers, seeing and hearing the name, have taken still further liberties with it by calling them "The Snow Islands." The term Les Cheneaux, like the term Mackinac, has also a further geographical meaning and significance (so employed in these pages), in that it designates the territory and region not only including the islands themselves, but part of the mainland as well, from Point Brulee to Beaver Tail point, a distance of about twelve miles



### II.

## PERIOD OF EXPLORATION.

BEGINS IN 1634—VOYAGES OF JEAN NICOLET—MARQUETTE—DABLON—ALLOUEZ — LA SALLE — TONTY — HENNEPIN — AND MANY OTHERS—CHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENT OF VOYAGES THROUGH THE CHANNELS AND HISTORIC PERSONAGES WHO VISITED LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS FROM THE 17TH TO THE 19TH CENTURIES.

To fully appreciate how far back in the historic calendar the exploration period of this region begins, comparisons must be made with other events of history.

The written history of the Straits of Mackinac begins with the voyage of Jean Nicolet in the year 1634, ninety-eight years before the birth of Washington; but fourteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims; at a time when the only evidences of Anglo-Saxon civilization on this continent were a few scattered colonists on the Atlantic seaboard struggling with hostile savages; thirty-nine years before the Mississippi river was explored by Marquette and Joliet; at a time when more than three-fourths of the present United States was an unknown and unexplored wilderness and when most of the efforts of the explorers were devoted to finding a supposed nearby water highway to the Pacific ocean and to Asia.



Therefore, considering the many successive years that must be taken into account respecting the period of the explorers, the outline will be made by reference to years and to men, and then only to those of prominence, and to those only whom it is either certain or reasonable to believe from good authority, visited the Islands of Les Cheneaux in the voyages that will here be briefly mentioned.

1634—Jean Nicolet, a Frenchman, and lieutenant of Champlain with an escort of seven Huron indians, in birch-bark canoes visited the Sault, Les Cheneaux, Mackinac, Wisconsin, and probably the Illinois country, in a voyage of exploration "To become acquainted with the Indian tribes lying beyond 'Mer Douce'" (Lake Huron) \* \* \* "and to find 'The Sea of China'" and thereby the long-looked-for short passage to Asia.

1635—Jean Nicolet and the Hurons returned,

probably over the same route.

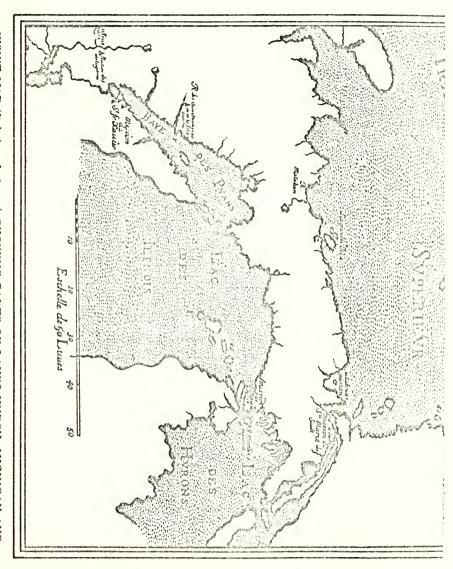
1650—A band of the Hurons known as the Tobacco Nation (Tionontati), fleeing from an Iroquois attack in Georgian bay, passed the straits and channels, taking refuge at Mackinac Island.

1653—Eight hundred Iroquois warriors passed the straits on an unsuccessful expedition to take

the Huron fort at Green Bay.

1654—Two famous French traders and explorers (brothers-in-law) Pierre Esprit Radisson and





JESUIT MAP (Relation of 1670-71) SHOWING PARTS OF LAKES HURON, MICHIGAN AND SUPERIOR, THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC AND LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS



Medard Chouart Groseilliers, made a similar voyage on their way to Green Bay.

1656—Radisson and Groseilliers returned from Green Bay with a large party (one writer says five hundred) Hurons and Ottawas with sixty canoes heavily laden with valuable cargoes of furs for the French market on the Saint Lawrence.

1665—Nicolas Perrot, noted explorer, daring voyager, interpreter and Indian agent, made this year a like voyage through the straits and channels on his way to Green Bay. Perrot was later and for many years a striking figure in the history of New France, and made many voyages of these channels, covering a period of some thirty years, succeeding 1665. It was he who participated in the French and Indian treaty of 1671 at the Sault, interpreting to the Indians the historic "Process-Verbal" by which the representative of Louis the XIV, (Sieur de Saint Lusson), in the presence of a company of men now all noted in history, assumed to take possession of New France and much of North America.

1669—Father Claude Allouez, of historic fame, was the first Jesuit missionary to visit Les Cheneaux and the Straits of Mackinac. Leaving the Sault on November 3rd, 1669, with two French companions "and two canoe loads of Pottawattamies," they passed De Tour, and when "the con-



trary wind was about to cast the canoe on the rocks" they camped at Les Cheneaux the night of November 4th, 1699. Father Allouez says, "On the 5th, upon waking, we found ourselves covered with snow and the surface of the canoe coated with ice," \* "we embarked with difficulty" \* \* "our bare feet in the water." The night of November 5th they camped again on Little Saint Martin's Island, where, says Allouez, "we were detained six days by bad weather." The Indian companions of Allouez here related to him some of the same Indian legends handed down to Schoolcraft respecting Mackinac Island and the Islands of Les Cheneaux, including references to "Manabozho," the prototype of Longfellow's Hiawatha. Of this historic mythical character these Indian companions told Allouez, as he tells it in his own words in writing an account of this voyage:

"They say " " that it was in these Islands that he invented nets for catching fish after he had attentively considered the spider working at her web in order to catch flies in it."

1670—In June of this year Allouez returned to the Sault from Green Bay over the same route.

1670—Father Dablon, accompanied by Allouez, made a similar voyage. Leaving Allouez at Green Bay, he returned, and spent the winter of 1670-71 at Mackinac, laying the foundation for the later mission of Saint Ignatius.



1671—In the summer of this year (June or later) Father Marquette and the Hurons, moving from Lake Superior to Mackinac Island, navigated the channels of Les Cheneaux. It is quite certain that during this voyage Father Marquette procured the data and drew maps of Les Cheneaux Islands as they appear upon the later map of the Relation for the years 1670-71.

1670-71—Father Dablon attached to the Jesuit Relation for those years a map of Lake Superior, part of Lake Huron and the straits, showing Les Cheneaux Islands, the map probably drawn by Father Marquette, which clearly indicates that these islands and channels had been carefully explored by the Jesuits in the voyages here described, most likely by Marquette himself in his voyage with the Huron nation, and probably also by Allouez.

1671—Autumn—the Ottawas of Manitoulin, who separated from Marquette, and the Hurons at De Tour (see Chap. III post) passed the straits and channels on an unsuccessful war expedition against the Sioux, and arrived with guns and ammunition obtained at Montreal.

1672—Summer—Marquette, accompanied by Allouez, made another canoe voyage from Mackinac to the Sault, and after fourteen days' absence returned again, probably through the channels.



1672—December 7th of that year Louis Joliet, educated as a priest but now an explorer, amid the ice and storms of fast approaching winter, passed through the straits and channels to meet Marquette at Saint Ignace in preparation for the historic exploration of the Mississippi river.

1673—Henry Nouvel, Dablon's successor at the Sault, passed the channels on his way to Saint

Ignace.

1673—On May 17th, Marquette and Joliet with their French and Indian companions, started on their long voyage of discovery, and Marquette in making his map of that year again showed Les Cheneaux Islands.

1674—Another party of Ottawas and other Algonquians came from Manitoulin Island and the opposite shore to settle at Saint Ignace.

1678—The noted coureurs de bois, army officer, and explorer Du Luth, from whom the present city of Duluth, Minnesota, takes its name, passed the straits on a voyage to the Sioux country, making many other like voyages during the succeeding years of that century.

1679—On August 26th, La Salle's expedition in the first vessel that ever sailed the Great Lakes, "The Griffon," reached the straits in a storm and was nearly lost while passing Les Cheneaux Islands. Hennepin, the priest and adventurer,



who was the historian of this voyage and on board the "Griffon," thus describes this incident:

"M. La Salle, notwithstanding he was a courageous man, began to fear and told us we were undone: and therefore everybody fell upon his Knees to say his prayers and prepare himself for Death, except our Pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray: And he did nothing all that while but curse and swear against M. La Salle, who, as he said, had brought him thither to make him perish in a nasty Lake and lose the Glory he had acquired by his long and happy Navigations on the Ocean."

1679—Henri de Tonty, La Salle's faithful lieuenant, one of the voyagers aboard the "Griffon," a true soldier and a most striking figure in the succeeding twenty years of American history, in the Autumn of 1679, passed the channels on his way to the Sault to recover from some of La Salle's unfaithful men goods which they had stolen. Tonty, during the next two decades, made many similar canoe voyages.

1681—In October of that year La Salle, coming from Toronto on his second expedition with heavily laden canoes, again passed the straits and channels.

1683-Du Luth, on his return from France, passed the channels with an expedition of many canoes and some thirty Frenchmen, with goods for the Indian trade among the Sioux.

1683—Du Luth returned on his way to the Sault



to punish by execution the Indian murderers of two Frenchmen.

1684-1687—Many like voyages by explorers and traders.

1688—In June, voyage of Baron La Hontan, from the Sault to Mackinac and later the same year on a return voyage to Lake Erie.

1688 to 1700—The Indian warfare and fur trading activities result in frequent and almost daily expeditions and voyages through the straits and channels.

1721-Voyage of Father Charlevoix.

1761—Arrival of British troops at Mackinac.

1763—The Conspiracy and War of Pontiac resulted in many similar expeditions and voyages incident to the great Indian war and the resulting Fort Mackinac massacre.

1764—Alexander Henry, the noted English trader and refugee from Mackinac, was at Les Cheneaux.

1812—July 15th. Expedition of British troops and Indian allies, the day preceding the capture of Fort Mackinac. Rendezvous at Les Cheneaux (see Chap. XI).

1825—September 5th to 8th, Henry R. Schoolcraft was at Point Brulee storm bound (see Chap. VII).

The voyages above noted are but few of the many



of like character that could be recounted, including almost every year of the calendar from 1669 to 1842. Each and all of them bore their part in the making of the nation's history as the mere mention of the names of the principal voyagers must indicate. Many, if not all of these expeditions, when considered in detail, present most interesting subjects for extended comment and consideration. Indeed, the exploits and expeditions of these men of iron and enterprise and their associates, and others making like voyages, really constitute the history not only of this locality but of New France and the Northwest in the eventful years here considered.

The importance of this highway is the subject of comment in Hulbert's "Historic Highways of America" where the author says:

"The voyagers' canoes followed the Ottawa river from Montreal, then by portage to Lake Nipissing and to Georgian bay and Lake Huron, thence to Green Bay, the Fox river and by portage to the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. It was the most natural route, because in every way it was the line of least resistance. It avoided the near approaches to the Iroquois Indian limits, and led directly to the numerous Indian haunts around the Great Lakes."

The same writer, speaking of the various portages forming part of these highways further says:

"The portage paths from the Great Lakes, or streams entering them, to the tributaries of the Mississippi river were of great importance during the era when that river was the goal of explorers, conquerors and pioneers" \* \* "The



greater are worthy each of an exhaustive monograph and even those of least prominence were of importance far beyond our ability to understand in these days."

In considering the activities of this period—the fur trade, exploration and the work of the church, two classes of men stand forth as potent and forceful factors—the Jesuits and the French Canadians:

# THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES

were for the most part, men of learning and refinement, reared and educated amid the luxury and ease of continental Europe, often men of fortune and noble birth, utter strangers to hardship and manual labor. The vows of the Society of Jesus, and their fidelity to its cause put behind them forever all those things so dear to the average easeloving, selfish man.

The society, bent upon spreading and perpetuating the doctrines of the Church of Rome throughout the world, undertook the gigantic and impossible task of turning the savages of the far away land of North America from the medicine man and the tom-tom to the priest and to the cross of Christ.

The army of willing votaries and self-sacrificing volunteers who promptly responded to this call have earned a deserving place both in the history of the nation and of their church.

The missionary of these days, of whatever creed,



sets out on his mission to foreign lands with all the ease, comfort and dispatch that our modern civilization and its swift means of transportation so richly afford; with few exceptions he lives in comparative comfort and with assured safety. Far different was the experience of these Jesuit Fathers, who, for weeks and often months, were tossed in crowded and slow sailing vessels by the winds and waves of the Atlantic ocean, to lead, at the end of the journey, a life often too shortly terminated by a martyr's death, amid hardships and dangers that no writer can appreciate or describe.

The arrival at Quebec or Montreal was often but the mere beginning of the journey, for long, weary days and weeks and months must elapse with the hardest and most constant toil at the paddles of the birch-bark canoes, amid sunshine and storm, rain and snow, up and down rivers, skirting the Great Lakes, crossing smaller ones; packing by hand, canoes, personal belongings and supplies over long portages or around impeding cataracts; at times fighting their way through the country of hostile tribes, before the journey ended at last in the distant wilderness, where the real labors of these men began.

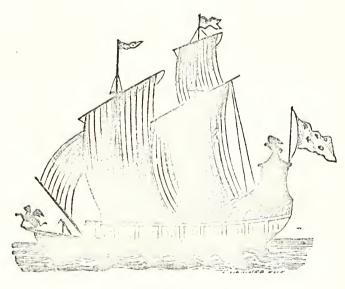
After building with their own hands, from the raw material of a primeval forest, their wigwams, log cabins or mission houses, they were confronted



with the difficult task of telling the story of the Christ and the Virgin to pagan savages in an unlearned and difficult language which was theirs to master. Though men of letters, the many new problems in the great school of woodcraft had to be solved and also mastered as by little children in a primary school, e'er they could hope to further penetrate with success the dark and silent forests, the endless and often unexplored wildernesses, with their many hidden dangers.

In imperfect imagination only can we follow them in a very small part of their further trials and journeys, feasting or starving with the particular Indians with whom their lot was cast, enduring the filth and vermin of an Indian village, accompanying the tribe on the hunt, on the war-path, some times pursuers and sometimes pursued, in dead of winter on long snow-shoe journeys through the deep snow in quest of food, or to visit some distant band or tribe, at all times striving to make the savage a friend by giving material aid in sickness and in health, while ministering to supposed spiritual needs, constantly teaching the youth; in times of pestilence, famine or other ill fortune in war, often facing the unrelenting vengeance, born of savage superstition, which charged the wearer of the black robe, as the sole author of the particular misfortune; often paying the penalty with their lives after





"THE GRIFFON"

The first sailing vessel on the upper lakes; built by La Salle, 1679



enduring long and indescribable Indian torture. Such was the lot of the Jesuit missionary in the days of the exploration period. For all this the Jesuit counted himself amply rewarded if there were converts, however few. At times the harvest seemed rich, but more frequently the stolid curiosity of the idle Indians gathering in crowds to hear the word, was mistaken for the working of the Holy Spirit.

# THE FRENCH.

The mental picture, painted anew with each successive reading of these voyages or of any era of the exploration period, must of necessity present to view those bold and venturesome Frenchmen who were either leaders of an expedition or plain members of the company, as coureurs de bois, or as boatmen. The forceful qualities of these men will ever command not only interest but respect and admiration.

Therefore in contemplating these voyages and the voyageurs themselves, it is but plain justice to remember the men who bore the heavy burdens, who plied the paddles and pulled the oars, and who made the exploration of unknown lands and waters in the country of the hostile Indian possible—the French Canadians. In so doing there can be no better way than to present in the words of Fran-



cis Parkman what he says of these men,—the rank and file in the companies of the explorers (Conspiracy of Pontiac, pp 48-50):

"In all that pleases the eye or interests the imagination the French Canadian surpassed his English rival. Buoyant and gay, like his ancestry of France, he made the frozen wilderness ring with merriment, answered the surly howling of the pine forest with peals of laughter, and warmed with revelry the groaning ice of the St. Lawrence. Careless and thoughtless, he lived happy in the midst of poverty, content if he could but gain the means to fill his tobacco pouch, and decorate the cap of his mistress with a ribbon. The example of a beggared nobility, who, proud and penniless, could only assert their rank by idleness and ostentation, was not lost upon him. A rightful heir to French bravery and French restlessness, he had an eager love of wandering and adventure; and this propensity found ample scope in the service of the fur-trade, the engrossing occupation and chief source of income to the colony. When the priest of St. Ann's had shrived him of his sins; when, after the parting carousal, he embarked with his comrades in the deep-laden canoe; when their oars kept time to the measured cadence of their boat song, and the blue, sunny bosom of the Ottawa opened before them; when their frail bark quivered among the milky foam and black rocks of the rapid; and when around their camp-fire, they wasted half the night with jest and laughter-then the Canadian was in his element. His footsteps explored the farthest hiding-places of the wilderness. In the evening dance, his red cap mingled with the scalp locks and feathers of the Indian braves; or, stretched on a bear-skin by the side of his dusky mistress, he watched the gambols of his hybrid offspring, in happy oblivion of the partner whom he left unnumbered leagues behind.



"The fur-trade engendered a peculiar class of restless bushrangers, more akin to Indians than to white men. Those who had once felt the fascination of the forest were unfitted ever after for a life of quiet labor; and with this spirit the whole colony was infected. Yet by the zeal of priests and daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada, though sapless and infirm, spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness. Feebly rooted in the soil she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America; a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust."

Such, as so graphically described by Parkman, was the French Canadian of this era; later, in the history of this region, he became in some instances a man of affairs and family, contributing substantially to the development and growth of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Stanley Newton in his recent "Picturesque and Legendary History of Mackinac Island and Sault Ste Marie," presents the following corroborating incident of the statements in the preceding paragraph: "The French and English merchants drove a thriving trade on Mackinac Island in the early years succeeding 1800. I think it was a Frenchman of Point Saint Ignace who sent over to the Island the following requisition:"

"You will put some shoe on my little families like this, and send by Sam Jameson, the carrier: One man, Jean St. Jean (me) 42 years; one woman, Sophie St. Jean, (she) 41 years; Hermedes and Leonore, 19 years; Honore, 18 years; Celina,



17 years; Narcisse, Octavia and Phyllis, 16 years; Olivia, 14 years; Phillippa, 13 years; Alexandre, 12 years; Rosina, 11 years; Bruno, 10 years; Pierre, 9 years; Eugene, we lose him; Edouard and Eliza, 7 years; Adrain, 6 years; Camille, 5 years; Moise, 2 years; Muriel, 1 year; Hilane, he go barefoot. How much?"

This incident would seem to indicate that however appalling the race suicide question may be with the French—in the mother country, it could not have been a question of great moment in those days in and around the Straits of Mackinac.

# III.

# EARLY INDIAN HISTORY AND OCCUPATION.

THE ANCIENT HURONS—OJIEWAYS OR CHIPPEWAS—WRITINGS
OF SCHOOLCRAFT—LONGFELLOW'S HIAWATHA, TAKEN
FROM LEGENDS, TRADITIONS AND INDIAN FOLK-LORE GATHERED FROM THE INDIANS IN THIS LOCALITY—VOYAGE OF
THE HURON NATION ACCOMPANIED BY FATHER MARQUETTE THROUGH THE CHANNELS IN 1670—"THE THREE
FIRES"—PONTIAC—THE SIEGE AND TRAGEDY OF STARVED
ROCK—THE IROQUOIS—JESUITS AMONG THE HURONS—THE
CHARM OF INDIAN HISTORY—INDIAN LEGENDS AND
TRADITIONS.

The charm of Indian history and of Indian tales and legends seems to be without limit with the American people. Since the discovery of this continent the North American Indian, his origin, his traditions and legends, his character, his manners and customs, his superstitions, his eloquence, the wars in which he has engaged, his tribal relations, his certain destiny, the wrongs he has done and those he has suffered, have for four centuries, been favorite themes for the historian, the poet, the philanthropist, the ethnologist. Yet, with all these countless writings, every locality has its special Indian history, and when that is considered, even by itself, the charm seems to increase rather



than diminish—Les Cheneaux is no exception to this rule.

When Longfellow wrote "The Song of Hiawatha," he forever fastened this charm not only upon his first readers, but upon their descendants yet unborn.

Thirty years before Longfellow wrote the first line of Hiawatha, a gentleman of learning, during twenty years of residence in this region, gathered from the primeval red man, the tales and legends and Indian stories told mostly in the Ojibway dialect of the Algonquian language, which he ably and indelibly wrote into our English literature and from which Longfellow secured very much of what he gave to the world by perpetuating in Hiawatha the romantic features of Indian folk-lore.

The writer thus referred to was Henry R. Schoolcraft LL. D. who from 1822 to 1841 was the Indian Agent at Sault Ste Marie and at Mackinac Island, and who in those years was a very frequent visitor to these islands and channels. He was not only for many years agent of Indian affairs, the greatest authority upon Indian history and ethnology, a scientist and prolific writer, but during those years, and in this locality wrote what is perhaps his best book and literary production, so helpfully used by Longfellow,—"Algic Researches."



Longfellow's personal diaries and his own footnotes not only acknowledge this use, but the very first lines of Hiawatha corroborate this statement of its origin:

"Should you ask me whence these stories, Whence these legends and traditions, With the odor of the forest, With the dew and damp of meadows, With the curling smoke of wigwams, With the rushing of great rivers, With their frequent repetitions, And their wild reverberations, As of thunder in the mountains? I should answer, I should tell you, 'From the forest and the prairies, From the Great Lakes of the Northland, From the land of the Ojibways.'"

More extended reference will not be made to Mr. Schoolcraft, his life and able work so well and favorably known, but to the dwellers of Les Cheneaux, and—"Ye who love the haunts of nature" \* \* \* "love the shadows of the forest" \* \* \* "love the wind among the branches" \* \* "love the ballads of a people" \* \* \* "that like voices from afar off" \* \* \* "call to us to pause and listen"—should read "The Song of Hiawatha" and the early Indian history of this region with a new meaning and appreciation. It is certainly of interest to know that here, from this immediate locality, these legends and tradi-



tions were gathered, translated and written in our own language with painstaking care, and again so reproduced with like fidelity by the great poet in verse, as to give to the world a true picture of the romance of Indian life and story, not as it is now, nor as it was carelessly observed by grasping, selfish and exploiting traders, but as it was when the Indian was uncontaminated by the worst features of the white man's civilization-when he was, in fact, the primeval red man of the forest and prairie. To those thoughtless people who measure Indian character by what they see of him in his modern degradation and decline, the reading of Mr. Schoolcraft's writings should give not only a new and more charitable view, but end much of the unfair treatment of the Indian by those who see neither romance nor merit in his character.

Should a detailed account here be given of all of the Indians who have visited the Straits of Mackinac and these islands and channels as shown by reliable historical writings, this subject alone would not only far exceed the limits of these pages, but would, of necessity, describe the exploits, war parties and wanderings of most, if not all of the tribes and bands, that have first and last, occupied this country north of the Ohio river, and from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi, and beyond. Therefore, in dealing with the early Indian



occupation here, reference will only be made to the three great tribes most intimately connected with the history of this locality viz: The Ojibways, (Chippewas), Hurons and Ottawas, giving as to each but a mere outline of their history. Referring also, in a brief sketch, to their common enemy the Iroquois, who were frequent and unwelcome invaders of these Indian domains where their only errand was war, conquest and plunder.

# THE OJIBWAYS OR CHIPPEWAS.

For two hundred years preceding the advent of the white man to the Straits of Mackinac, and for how much longer we do not know, more than half of the North American continent, extending as far south as the Ohio river, as far north as Hudson Bay, and east to west almost from ocean to ocean, was the country of the tribes speaking the Algonquian language in its various dialects.

The most powerful in point of numbers of this linguistic group was the Ojibway (Chippewa) Nation. Their camps and villages for uncounted years lined both shores of Lake Superior and at one time both banks of Lake Huron. Their wide domain covered more than a thousand miles of the northern forests from east to west, extending to and beyond the Red river of the North. Their traditions indicate a residence very far back in their his-



tory on the Atlantic seaboard, and a residence about Lake Superior and in this region as one writer expresses it, "from time immemorial."

The Ojibway nation included at one time both the Ottawas and the Pottawatomies, who, according to tradition, separated into these separate tribes in very early times at the Straits of Mackinac, "in their westward movement, having come at that time from some point north or northeast of Mackinac." After such separation the three tribes still maintained a sort of loose confederacy during the last century, designated as "The Three Fires." This designation was the subject of frequent reference by Indian orators at treaty-making councils with the whites.

The Ojibways were not only successful in extending their possessions westward and meeting in successful combat the warlike Sioux in their own country, but they also took possession of the territory between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, driving the Iroquois confederacy before them—a feat seldom accomplished by any other of the Algonquian tribes.

They were concerned in all the wars against the frontier forts and settlements of their country, to the close of the War of 1812, and their importance and prowess, as viewed by the whites and Government authorities is amply evidenced by the fact



that they were not only consulted, but were contracting parties in all of the Indian treaties of importance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, concluding Indian wars or disposing of the lands north of the Ohio river and in the territory above defined.

Schoolcraft describes the Chippewa warriors as equaling in physical appearance the best of the northwestern Indians, with the possible exception of the Foxes. He was best acquainted with them during thirty years of his greatest activities, and married Miss Jane Johnston, a descendant by the mother's side of "Wabojeeg" a war chief of this nation. Mrs. Schoolcraft was an accomplished and highly educated woman, who aided her husband greatly in his work.

Parkman, writing in 1851, says of the Ojibways: "In their mode of life, they were far more rude than the Iroquois or even the Southern Algonquin tribes" \* \* "Agriculture is little known, and through summer and winter, they range the wilderness with restless wandering, now gorged to repletion, and now perishing with want. In the calm days of summer the Ojibway fisherman pushes out his birch-bark canoe upon the great inland ocean of the north" \* "again he explores the watery labyrinth where the stream sweeps among pine-tufted islands, or runs, black and deep, beneath the shadows of moss-bearded firs, or he drags his canoe upon the sandy beach, and while his camp fire crackles on the grass plat, reclines beneath the trees, and smokes and laughs away the sultry hours in a lazy luxury of enjoyment.



"But when winter descends upon the north, sealing up the fountains, fettering the streams and turning the green-robed forest to shivering nakedness, then bearing their frail dwellings upon their backs, the Ojibway family wander forth into the wilderness cheered only on their dreary track by the whistling of the north wind, and the hungry howls of wolves. By the bank of some frozen stream, women and children, men and dogs lie crouched together around the fire. In vain they beat the magic drum and call upon their guardian manitoes:—the wary moose keeps aloof, the bear lies close in his hollow tree, and famine stares them in the face" \* \* "Such harsh schooling is thrown away on the northern Algonquin. He lives in misery as his fathers lived before him. Still in the brief hour of plenty he forgets the season of want; and still the sleet and the snow descend upon his houseless head."

Widely varying estimates of the numbers of the Ojibways have been made at different times, none of them probably very accurate, but when it is considered that the American bureau of ethnology estimates their numbers as late as the year 1905, at over 32,000 souls, some idea may be formed of the former greatness of this people.

Their customs, myths, traditions, legends and their folk-lore in general, has, probably on account of their intimate association with the whites, received more attention and publication, than in the case of most of the other tribes. "The Ojibways have a great number of legends, stories and historical tales, the relating and hearing of which gives a vast fund of winter evening instruction and amuse-



ment," says a well-informed writer, a native Ojibway, writing sixty years ago. This writer further says, "There is not a lake or mountain that has not connected with it some story of delight or wonder and nearly every beast and bird is the subject of the Indian story-teller." These myths and legends, so related, supplied the place of books and shortened the long winter evenings for attentive audiences that gathered from night to night in the wigwam of the Ojibway story-teller to hear his continued tales.

Since the beginning of our written history, and as we know from tradition, for centuries before that, the Sault, the Straits of Mackinac and these islands, have been the native homes of this nation where many of them still reside, a striking exception in that respect to almost every other tribe of Indians formerly located east of the Mississippi, who have, almost without exception, left the land of their fathers, for new homes, not of their own choosing, beyond the Great River and toward the setting sun.

## THE HURONS.

The Indian history of these islands would be incomplete without some reference to that once great and powerful Indian tribe from which the great lake derives its name—the Hurons. When first known to white men they were a powerful and



warlike nation, traders and tillers of the soil, living on the eastern shores of the lake which, for over two hundred years, has borne their name. Although speaking the same language, of equal bravery, following the same manners and customs, and probably at one time of the same people as the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, they were deadly enemies of that fierce and blood-thirsty confederacy. Though the Hurons numbered, according to various estimates, from ten to thirty thousand people, the Iroquois, after many years of warfare, finally about the year 1650 succeeded in reducing the Huron nation to broken bands of terror-stricken fugitives. Some of these bands perished of starvation in the northern forests of what is now Canada. A few of them retreated to Ouebec, while one village surrendered to the Senecas, one of the Iroquois tribes, and settled in a separate village in the country of the Iroquois in New York. All that was left of the Hurons as an organized tribe was a band of that division then known as the Tobacco nation (Tionontati) who, in the general disaster, deserted their burning towns and villages and were literally driven into the lake bearing the name of their tribe and forced to take refuge on the islands of Georgian Bay. Their sufferings there during a single winter from famine and disease is one of the darkest chapters of Indian his-



tory. The self-sacrificing deeds of those Jesuit Fathers living with the Hurons, who died the death of martyrs from Iroquois torture, during this war of extermination, and of those who survived and fled with them and who, with superhuman devotion, ministered to the wants of the luckless Hurons during that memorable winter in Georgian bay, will ever live in history. No reader who contemplates these incidents in all their details can have aught but the utmost admiration for those historic heroes of the Black Robe.

Not content with a victory that had achieved all but annihilation, the relentless and ever-present Iroquois again drove the Hurons from the islands of Georgian bay westward through the channels of Les Cheneaux to Mackinac Island where they remained for a short time until threatened with still another Iroquois attack. From there they removed again for safety to the islands about Green Bay, but their rest was of short duration, for their merciless enemy, the Iroquois, approached them again by the western shore of Lake Michigan; of their further flight and wanderings in Illinois, up the Mississippi river, among the Sioux, living for a time in what is now Wisconsin and Minnesota, where they found this tribe first friends and then enemies as powerful and dangerous as their former foes, the Iroquois. Of their later residence-near



the western extremity of Lake Superior-no further reference will here be made except to state that in the year 1670, after twenty years of wandering in the wilderness, like the ancient children of Israel, we find them in that year at La Pointe Mission on Chequamegon bay under the care of that good shepherd of the Indian sheep, Father Marquette. Who had been sent a year before (September 1669) on a long voyage to his second mission in that then far distant land to minister to their supposed spiritual needs. We find them, too, decimated in numbers, and in deadly fear of the Sioux who were about to attack them from the west as the Iroquois had from the east, longing with common human instinct, to return again after these twenty years of wanderings to their native land. Then began another long and toilsome journey of some five hundred miles in their birch-bark canoes. They coasted the southern shores of Lake Superior, accompanied by their steadfast friends, the Ottawas and by Father Marquette, by the way of the Sault back to their former haunts around Mackinac, closing for over a hundred years the missions and Jesuit activities in the locality which they then deserted.

While the incidents of this voyage are full of interest, it will be of more special concern to the summer cottager of Les Cheneaux, as he sits in



restful reverie on the porch of his summer home and looks out on the clear waters of the channels, to remember and to know that here in the summer of 1670, Father Marquette and all that was left of the Huron nation as an organized tribe, with their women and little children, scarce four hundred remaining souls, plying their paddles with steady stroke, threaded their way again through these same channels where they passed in their first westward flight twenty years before. This journey ended in a home at Point Saint Ignace, where, if we can believe the Jesuit Relations, the Hurons became thankful and devoted members of Father Marquette's flock, crowding his little log chapel until he left them three years later with Joliet to find and explore the great "Father of Waters." This brief sketch of their earlier history will be concluded with the statement well authenticated that however much they feared the enemy, from whom they fled, they were foemen who made the ultimate victory of the Iroquois a dearly bought triumph. During the next thirty years the Hurons were identified with all the Indian warfare of that period until they removed to Detroit, as it is said, at the invitation of Cadillac, about the year 1702. About a century after their arrival at Saint Ignace with Father Marquette, we find them (1763) under the name of the Wyandots, one of



the chief, and as Parkman says, the best allies of Pontiac, the great chieftain of their friends the Ottawas, in a further war, that will ever command respect for the bravery and fidelity of that great leader and his followers, who undertook the impossible task of driving the Englishmen back again across the sea.

During the years the Hurons spent at Mackinac and Saint Ignace, they did not live entirely on Mackinac Island nor Point Saint Ignace, but were at times scattered about the Straits of Mackinac, on the mainland and the near-by islands. Their tribe was then probably strengthened by the return of some of their scattered bands, and there are the best of reasons for believing they were often at Les Cheneaux and perhaps in part dwellers upon these islands and along these channels. It is also stated, upon credible authority, that at the time of the removal from Mackinac Island to Green Bay, a part of the tribe in their efforts to avoid the Iroquois went directly to Lake Superior by way of Les Cheneaux and the Sault. A study of the history of this tribe in detail and of all their activities during the years here referred to, presents one of the most interesting histories of any of the Indian tribes. It is of special interest to know that in the year 1634 seven Hurons formed the escort of the first white man who explored this vicinity, Jean Nicolet.



#### THE OTTAWAS.

The Ottawas, meaning Traders (as they were early noted as traders and barterers among neighboring tribes) were formerly of the same nation as the Ojibways and became a separate tribe in early traditional times, at or near Mackinac as above noted.

There is much confusion in the writings of historians and ethnologists respecting their history and the name has been frequently applied to widely scattered bands and tribes to which it does not belong; thus Father Dablon writing in the Relations for the year 1670 respecting the Algonquians says:

"People commonly give them the name Ottawa because of more than thirty different tribes which are found in those countries, the first that descended to the French settlements were the Ottawas, whose name remained afterwards attached to all

the others."

Charlevoix and other writers also made the mistake of erroneously designating all the Indians of the Ottawa river by that name.

As appears both by tradition and the most credible writers, the country of the Ottawas was as early as 1635 and long before that the islands of Georgian Bay, especially Manitoulin Island, called by some early writers the "Island of the Ottawas," and also along the north and south shores of Georgian Bay.



The Ottawas were ever the steadfast friends of both the French and the Hurons, and in common with these friendly allies, were at constant war with the Iroquois.

The foregoing sketch of the Hurons covers also much of the history of the Ottawas during the same period, for the Ottawas followed the varying fortunes of the Hurons for more than a century and were with them at all the localities above referred to. The Ottawas, too, accompanied Father Marquette and the Hurons in their journey from Lake Superior in 1670. They separated at DeTour, the Hurons and Marquette going to Mackinac as already described, while the Ottawas returned to their former home on Manitoulin Island.

Later (1680), they again joined the Hurons at Saint Ignace, and when the Hurons removed to Detroit the Ottawas (1700-1702) occupied parts of the southern peninsula of Michigan along the west shore of Lake Huron from Saginaw Bay to Detroit. Later (1706) a part of the tribe returned still again to Mackinac and that vicinity, from which point they soon scattered in every direction, occupying parts of Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, and even as far east as Pennsylvania. They returned in part again to their favorite haunt and native land on Manitoulin Island, which they then shared



with the Chippewas. Despite the scattered bands thus so far removed, a goodly portion of the tribe finally settled in the lower peninsula of Michigan where they may still be found in a number of small villages and settlements. Many of this tribe have intermarried and gone with the Chippewas, and, since tribal relations have disappeared, it is often hard to trace or distinguish them from these former tribesmen, and equally difficult to compute their present numbers, which, however, is now estimated by the American bureau of ethnology at 4,700 people.

Like the Ojibways, they were not only concerned in all the war-like enterprises of their time, but generally joined with those allies in all of the Indian treaties of importance. It is a matter of history that they were enemies to be feared and were respected by every tribe with whom they were in friendly alliance.

The Ottawas and their greatest chieftain forever stamped their names upon the pages of American history in the Conspiracy and War of Pontiac. When this great leader met his death, at the hands of an Indian of one of the Illinois tribes, bribed to murder him, it is said, with a barrel of whiskey, the Ottawas participated with their friends and allies and former kinsmen, the Pottawatomies, in wreaking dire vengcance upon the Illinois. In the



historic tragedy of Starved Rock, about the year 1770, they exterminated the tribe from which the great state of Illinois derives its name, by a prolonged siege, resulting in the death of many of the Illinois by starvation and the massacre of the survivors as they attempted to escape in the night, in which attempt but eleven Illinois warriors were successful. Starved Rock, situated on the banks of the Illinois river, near the present city of Utica, is one of the historic monuments and landmarks of Illinois, deriving its present name from this incident. For nearly a century it was known as Fort Saint Louis. It will soon be dedicated as a state park. On the half acre of rock, standing high above the Illinois river, constituting the summit of this natural fortress, LaSalle and his faithful lieutenant, Henri de Tonty, a hero of the eighteenth century, held, with their Indian allies, for two decades in the name of the French king, the possession of that part of New France first explored by Marquette and Ioliet.

## THE IROQUOIS.

The Iroquis, or Five Nations of New York, have received the enthusiastic admiration of many writers; the best, and some of the worst traits of Indian character found its highest development among them; they are designated by one enthusiast

as "the Indians of Indians." And, although their country was New York, they are well worthy of mention in Michigan history; for, after exterminating and subduing their nearest neighbors, including the Hurons, the Eries and other tribes speaking the same language, their thirst for conquest led them westward from their far-away eastern homes; their war parties penetrated the intervening wilderness of forest and plain, navigated the western rivers and Great Lakes and destroyed or drove their enemies in terror before them not only through these channels and the Straits of Mackinac, but across the prairies of Illinois and along the western shores of Lake Michigan. Distance, hardships, winter, and time expended in travel presented no obstacles to them and they scattered and all but destroyed the great and powerful Algonquian tribes of the Illinois.

The Iroquois are thus described by Parkman:

"Foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in their savage arts of policy" \* \* \* "They extended their conquests and their depredations from Quebec to the Carolinas and from the western prairies to the forests of Maine." \* \* "On the west they exterminated the Eries, and Andastes and spread havoc and dismay among the tribes of the Illinois." \* \* \* "The Indians of New England fled at the first peal of the Mohawk war cry." \* \* \* "And all Canada shook with the fury of their onset." \* \* "The blood-besmeared conquerors roamed like wolves among the



burning settlements and Indian villages and the colonies trembled on the brink of ruin." \* \* \* "Few tribes could match them in prowess, constancy, moral energy or intellectual vigor."

They in turn and within a quarter of a century (1650-1672) exterminated four powerful tribes, the Hurons, later known as the Wyandots, the neutral nation, the Andastes and the Eries, reducing the ancient and powerful Hurons, as above described, to a band of fugitives. Their ferocity and torture of captives were revolting traits in their character. They were the worst of conquerors and their lust of blood and dominion is without parallel in Indian history.

Mr. Mason says of them (Land of the Illinois, pp. 113, 114): "Though numbering but twenty-five hundred warriors, their superior weapons and experience in warfare had enabled them to defeat and finally exterminate all their neighbors."

\* \* "They destroyed more than thirty nations; caused the death of more than 600,000 persons within eighty years and rendered the country about the Great Lakes a desert," and Mr. Mason's statement has ample corroboration.

Such were the Indians who were often transient residents of this locality both before and after the coming of the white man. Their depredations furnish the basis for many of the historical refer-



### EARLY INDIAN HISTORY

ences to the process of self-extermination of the Indian, by the wars among themselves in progress when the white man first saw the American Indian.

The French were never successful in gaining the friendship of the Iroquois tribes, as they were with almost all the other Indians of the North and Northwest, but the Iroquois were the friends of the English and of the Dutch.

In Colden's history of the Five Nations, printed in the old English style of that day, (1750), the author, in describing one of the campaigns between the French and English, in 1693, where Peter Schuyler, a major of the New York militia, was in charge of the English and their Indian allies, the Iroquois, says:

"It is true that the English were in great want of Provisions at that time." \* \* \* "The Indians eat the Bodies of the French that they found. Col. Schuyler (as he told me himself) going among the Indians at that Time was invited to eat broth with them, which some of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle deep into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a French Man's Hand, which put an end to his Appetite."

The quaint humor in this record of an Englishman eating such French broth in the Seventeenth century, or at any subsequent time for that matter, and losing his appetite, needs no comment; the author may unconsciously have offered a fair explanation of this circumstance, for he says in an-



### HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

other connection "Schuyler was brave, but he was no soldier."

The many unwelcome visits of this fierce and warlike people to the Straits of Mackinac and to Les Cheneaux in pursuit of their enemies during the years succeeding the first exploration of Nicolet, if described in detail, would require more space than is here devoted to the other nations.

Such in brief is the history of these four great tribes intimately connected with the annals of Les Cheneaux and the Straits of Mackinac. That favorite theme of historical writers, respecting the rise and fall of both civilized and savage nations can have no more forceful illustration than is presented by their history. They have come and gone, a few of their descendants still linger, a sad and disappointing representation of the ancient children of the forest, whom we can only intimately know, by close study of the very few writers who have done them justice.

# LATER AND RECENT INDIAN HISTORY.

"THE ISLANDS OF THE CHENOS" AND THIS DISTRICT—SHAB-WAWAY, LES CHENEAUX INDIAN CHIEF—HIS EFFORTS AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR HIS PEOPLE TO RETAIN THE ISLANDS—HIS RESIDENCE HERE AND ON MARQUETTE ISLAND FROM 1770 TO 1872 AND HIS HISTORY—OTHER CHIEFS—PAY-BAW-ME-SAY—MIS-HA-BOS—CHUSCO AND NIGWEEGON—"CHIMNEY POINT"—"THE OLD CHIMNEY"—"BESH-A-MIN-IK-WE", OR MRS. SHABWAY, THE AGED OTTAWA WOMAN OF HESSEL—HER RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY DAYS AND INDIAN HISTORY—THE OLD INDIAN CEMETERY OF LES CHENEAUX—INDIAN TRAILS—INDIAN VILLAGES.

INDIAN TREATIES OF MARCH 28TH, 1836, AND OF JULY 31ST, 1855.

These two Indian treaties dealing directly with Les Cheneaux Islands, and the adjacent mainland, are also of general interest and important documents in Michigan history. They show how the Indians, when forced to surrender more than half the present state of Michigan, clung with patriotic tenacity to this group of islands for permanent homes and reservations. The treaty of 1836 is a most interesting document.

Prior to the conclusion of this treaty Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who acted as commissioner for the.



government, and many of the chiefs and delegates of the Chippewas and Ottawas had assembled for this purpose at Washington, D. C. When Mr. Schoolcraft learned that it was the purpose of the government to conclude a treaty ceding so much territory, he insisted that the negotiations be delayed until many of the chiefs and head-men, not then in Washington, should be sent for and consulted, which was done. The treaty, when finally concluded, ceded much of the State of Michigan, estimated by the government agents at sixteen million acres, including the whole of the southern peninsula lying north of a line drawn from Grand river to Thunder bay and nearly as large a tract of the northern peninsula.

The most casual reading of this treaty will indicate that its purpose was not only to obtain possession of this vast tract of land, and as the treaty says: "As soon as said Indians desire it, a suitable location shall be provided for them west of the Mississippi," but to begin the termination of tribal organizations which was finally consummated by the treaty of 1855. Still, in justice to the commissioner, it must be truly said that the treaty also contemplated, as its terms indicate, the supposed possibility of successful civilization, which probably accounts for the provision for removal to the west, when "said Indians desire it;" the treaty



also made fairly liberal provisions for annuities, teachers, missions, school houses, "books in their own language," agricultural implements, blacksmith shops, cattle, mechanics' tools, "and such other objects as the President shall deem proper," not to overlook some other items more dear to the Indian heart and fancy, including the item of "6,500 pounds of tobacco annually for twenty years," and to the joy of all, "\$150,000 in goods and provisions to be delivered at Michilimackinac on the ratification of this treaty." Also an item of \$300,000.00 "for the payment of just debts against the said Indians."

The many reservations of both large and small tracts of land, payments of annuities and cash in hand to a large number of chiefs, half breeds and individual Indians, would seem to indicate great difficulty in consummating the deal and satisfying individual demands and that the negotiations must have been quite prolonged.

"Chabowaywa" (as his signature appears on this treaty opposite the notation "his X mark") who was known as Les Cheneaux chief (elsewhere specially noted in these pages) was not only at Washington, but seems to have made most strenuous efforts for the rights of himself and his people, for "Article 3" of the treaty provides (among other like reservations):



### HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

"There shall also be reserved for the use of the Chippeways, living north of the Straits of Michilimackinac, the following tracts, that is to say" \* \* "The Islands of the Chenos with a part of the adjacent north coast of Lake Huron, corresponding in length and one mile in depth."

But the fairness with which this stipulation was treated may best be shown by the fact that two months later, and on May 27th, 1836, when this treaty was ratified by the President and Senate of the United States (so far as can be told after Shabwaywa and his associates had departed for their homes) the following words were appended to the treaty:

"Ratified with the following amendments thereto: Article 3 after the word 'tracts' for the term of five years from the ratification of this treaty and no longer, unless the United States grant them permission to remain on said land for a longer period."

By article 10 of this treaty thirty thousand dollars was to be paid to the various chiefs named in three appended schedules from which the following quotations are made:

- "I. The following chiefs shall constitute the first class and are entitled to receive Five Hundred Dollars each, namely"

  \* \* "at The Chenos Chabowaywa" \* \* \* .



# LATER AND RECENT INDIAN HISTORY

That Chabwaywa was a man of force and a chief of importance, would seem to be the case from the foregoing provisions and his designation as a chief of the "first class." Whether the names appearing in schedule "3" were "chiefs" as the treaty says, or just "persons," as designated in the schedule does not appear. There are many other interesting stipulations in this treaty, a few only of which will be mentioned. Article 6 contains the following:

"The said Indians being desirous of making provisions for their half breed relatives, and the President having determined that individual reservations shall not be granted, it is agreed that in lieu thereof \$150,000.00 shall be set apart for said half breeds."

Then follows a provision for a census of the half breeds, dividing them into classes to be designated by the chiefs and a pro rata division according to circumstances, and classes, with provisions also for widows and orphans, and payments in annual installments in the discretion of the President. Another provision of interest provided for building a dormitory for Indians visiting the Island of Michilimackinac and to supply it with a keeper and firewood for ten years; also for the appointment by the President of two farmers with two assistants and two mechanics "to teach and aid the Indians in agriculture and the mechanical arts."

This treaty also shows that "Chusco of Michili-



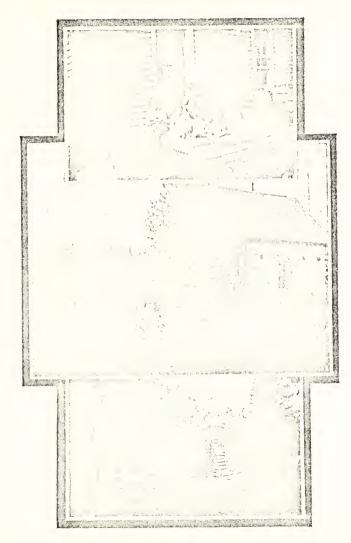
mackinac," an aged Ottawa chief, signed the treaty of Greeneville, Ohio, in 1793 (1795 in fact) with Mad Anthony Wayne, and plead for an annuity on that account and by reason of old age and poverty of himself and wife which was granted in the modest sum of fifty dollars a year "during his natural life." For similar reasons, the further pleading of his clansmen, "Nigweegon or the Wing," another Ottawa chief, received one hundred dollars per annum during a like period.

Further reference to the consideration of our government for these children of the forest, indicated by the provisions of this treaty will here be concluded with the statement of Mr. Schoolcraft himself, set forth in his book later written: "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes." On page 535 he states that when the treaty was concluded the United States had paid just twelve and one half cents an acre for this land and that the Indians departed from Washington with great rejoicing and well satisfied with the bargain.

# TREATY OF 1855.

The treaty of July 31st, 1855, also with the Chippewas and Ottawas was concluded at Detroit, and provides for the withdrawing from government sale for the benefit of the Indians various tracts of land on both the north and south penin-





One photo by D. G. McGrew and two by the author

LES CHENEAUX INDIAN HOMES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY



sulas of Michigan. The second article of that treaty provides:

"For the use of the bands who wish to reside east of the Straits of Mackinac, Township 42 North, Ranges 1 and 2 West, Township 43 North, Range 1 West, and Township 44 North Range 12 West."

Two of these townships include the land on the north shore of Lake Huron opposite Les Cheneaux Islands, beginning at the meridian near Cedarville, and extending west to Saint Martin's bay and nearly to Pine river, also the two most northerly points of land on Marquette island, which are now known as "Ke-che-to-taw-non" and "Club" points.

This treaty granted to each Chippewa and Ottawa Indian the head of a family eighty acres of land; to each single person over twenty-one years of age, forty acres and to each family of orphan children under that age and consisting of two or more persons eighty acres and for each single orphan child under twenty-one years of age forty acres of land. Further providing "Each Indian entitled to land under this article may make his own selection of any land within the tract reserved herein for the band to which he may belong." Provision was further made for the preparation of a list of the Indian grantees by the Indian agent; that such selection of land by the Indians should be made within five years after the preparation of such list and be filed with the In-



dian agent at Detroit to be transmitted to Washington; that the Indians making such selections should take immediate possession, receiving non-assignable certificates, prohibiting sales by the certificate holders; that after ten years such restrictions should be withdrawn and patents issued, subject, however, to the right of the President in special cases, on the recommendation of the Indian agent to appoint guardians for those incapable of managing their own affairs and, in special cases, to permit sales prior to the expiration of such ten years. The lands not so selected were to then be open again to general sale by the government and the resident homesteaders at the date of the treaty, were protected in their occupancy and existing rights. Also provided for the payment to the Indians in annuities and cash and in expenditures for them during a term of ten years, for educational purposes, agricultural implements, cattle, household goods and otherwise, the sum of \$573,004.00.

This treaty was of far reaching importance in the history of the Chippewas and Ottawas, for its real purpose was to finally dispose of the Indian question in the state of Michigan and to forever relieve the government of any further responsibility for its Indian wards of this state, these facts are expressly indicated by Articles 3 and 5, from which the following quotations are made:



# LATER AND RECENT INDIAN HISTORY

"The Ottawa and Chippewa Indians hereby release and discharge the United States from all liability on account of former treaty stipulations, it being distinctly understood and agreed that the grants and payments hereinbefore provided for are in lieu and satisfaction of all claims, legal and equitable, on the part of said Indians jointly and severally against the United States." \* \*

"The Tribal organization of said Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, except so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this agreement is hereby dissolved, and if at any time hereafter further negotiations with the United States, in reference to any matter herein contained should become necessary, no general convention of the Indians shall be called."

The list of the Indian beneficiaries provided for in this treaty was apparently made, but it was not until June 6th, 1871, that the selections and orders for patents respecting the "Mackinac band of Ottawas and Chippewas," was filed in the general land office. For this reason, the Indians in this district were obliged to wait nearly twenty years before they received patents to the small parcels of the great tracts of land they ceded to our government. An examination of the records of Mackinac county will disclose that comparatively few of the Chippewas and Ottawas in this locality profited by this transaction in the way of lands, still such patents were issued for a small part of these lands, including a very small part of Marquette island, reciting in general terms the treaty provi-



sions. The present Indian ownerships for the most part in this locality are based upon this treaty and such patents and the same situation probably exists respecting other present Indian ownerships throughout the state of Michigan.

SHAB-WA-WAY OF LES CHENEAUX, CHIEF OF THE OJIBWAY AND OTTAWA INDIANS.

Almost every locality has at least one more or less noted and romantic hero in the personality of an Indian chief. Some boast of many such heroes. Their historic importance and the distinction of their exploits very frequently increase in alarming rapidity with the lapse of time and the varying moods of their biographers. But in presenting the biography of our particular Les Cheneaux Indian chief and hero-Shab-wa-way, the story of his life and deeds will here be outlined as we find it from written history and from the men, many of them still living, who knew him intimately and well. Leaving to the historian and poet of the future, when Shab-wa-way has been longer dead, to paint his character in those bright and glowing colors that will far outshine the war-paint of his ancestors,-thus giving him an even chance with all those "good Indian" chiefs of the Mackinac straits who have not only passed to the happy hunting grounds, but through the kindness of these ro-



mantic writers, into the lasting halls of historic fame.

Shab-wa-way was born about the year 1770, which date is fixed by Indian and pioneer tradition, as all agree that he was over one hundred years of age at the time of his death, which occurred in the year 1872, in his log cabin, which stood on the present grounds of Les Cheneaux club on Marquette Island. From credible tradition it is believed that his ancestors lived upon that island at the time of his birth and for several preceding generations.

There is a conflict of authority as to whether he was by birth an Ojibway or an Ottawa. "Besh-amin-ik-we" (the aged Ottawa woman of Hessel, known by local residents as "Mrs. Shabway," and widow of his son) says he was an Ottawa by birth, while Schoolcraft in his "Thirty Years Among the Indian Tribes," page 459, calls him a Chippewa as do some of the local living Indians who knew him.

Like the names of many Indians, his is variously spelled, (1) in the treaty of 1836 "Chabowaywa," (2) by Schoolcraft "Shabowawa," (3) in U. S. Patent "Shab-wa-way" (4) by local white residents "Shabway" and (5) by an Indian linguist as "Shabwe-we." Two definitions of his name have been given us by Indian linguists of ability—"Echo from a distance," and "A penetrating sound, e. g.



that would go through a wall or the earth." As "Echo from a distance" seems more appropriate in writing his history some hundred and forty years after his birth, than to suggest that he was an Indian noted for making such a great noise that it would penetrate the earth, the former definition is respectfully recommended to the reader.

Tradition seems to indicate that he became a chief by heredity, but at what date is uncertain, as is also the extent of his domains and the number of his people. He certainly was the chief in authority, not only at Les Cheneaux, and Les Cheneaux Islands, but, as the Indian treaties with our government and Indian tradition seem to show, of all the mainland lying between the Saint Mary's and Pine rivers, a distance of some thirty miles and extending as far north as the Monoskong. When it is considered that this territory was such a favorite haunt for the Chippewas and Ottawas, there is little doubt that his band and people were, at least at one time, important in point of numbers.

Shab-wa-way not only extended marked hospitality to the early voyageurs and white pioneers, who, it is said, were ever welcome at his little log cabin, but there is more than one man now living who can truly testify to the fact that he was a good entertainer, not only in cheerfully furnishing food



and shelter to the belated or storm-bound wayfarer, but in showing his most excellent skill as an Indian story-teller, in which, it is said, upon good authority, he was in his day and generation, very proficient. Sometimes he related with true Indian dignity the tales, legends, myths, and traditions of his ancestors; probably some of the identical stories that we read today in Schoolcraft's writings and in Hiawatha. Again, when seized with that other mood of the Indian romancer, so common among the Indians of early times, he regaled his guests as they sat as attentive and expectant listeners around the great log fire that burned brightly in the spacious fire-place of "the old chimney," with those fanciful and romantic tales which were so often told, taken at par, and subsequently written by credulous listeners as true Indian folk-lore—but, in fact, made up from the active Indian imagination as he went along.

Shabwaway's participation in the treaty of March 28th, 1836, at Washington, D. C., and his efforts there for his people, indicate a man of force and character. He had, so far as can be learned, more of those sterling qualities and that dignity of manner incident to the Indian as he was in the early days, when first known to the explorers, than of those later descendants who have so degenerated after acquiring most of the vices, and



#### HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

few of the virtues, of their white teachers. He may have participated in the activities of the Indians of the straits, in the War of 1812, and in the military operations engaging Indian allies at Mackinac Island, but if so, there is no known record of it.

## "THE OLD CHIMNEY."

On the grounds of Les Cheneaux club at what is sometimes called "chimney point," in a little clearing and in plain view from passing yachts and steamers, stands the old chimney of Shabwaway's former home, and also some of the fruit trees that surrounded his cabin. Some of these apple trees are hidden away in the heavy forest near his garden spot that has grown up around them since his ancestors first planted this orchard, mute but convincing witnesses, that very many years have elapsed since his progenitors first occupied this attractive part of Marquette Island. Naturally this history and "the old chimney" of Shabwaway's log cabin are treasured by the members of Les Cheneaux club. This chimney was, until some five years ago, in the condition shown by the frontispiece when some campers thoughtlessly tore down the upper part of it. One of the club members replaced it as carefully as possible, with the same stones thus torn down, and upon the



### LATER AND RECENT INDIAN HISTORY

same foundation. Its significance as an historic land mark is now preserved by a tablet or sign board erected by the club and bearing the following inscription:

### "THE OLD CHIMNEY."

"On this spot stood the log cabin of Chabowaway (sometimes called 'Shab-wa-way' or 'Shabway') a leading chief of the Ottawa Indians. Here he and his ancestors lived for over a century and in this cabin he died about the year 1872 at the age, it is said, of over 100 years. March 28th, 1836, he represented his tribe and signed the Indian treaty at Washington, D. C., ceding most of northern Michigan to the United States, but reserving for himself and for his people 'The Islands of the Chenos' (Indian Treaties Ed. of 1873, Vol. 1, page 607.) He was succeeded by his son, 'Pay-Baw-Me-Say,' who took his father's name and who also died in this cabin, about the year 1882. Soon thereafter the cabin was burned down by a company of hunters."

Around this old chimney, on many summer nights, gather the children and young folk of Les Cheneaux club and their neighboring friends, for "marshmallow toasts" and other entertainments. Then the fire roars in the old fire place, as it did when kindled with Indian hands, lighting up the little clearing where Indian children used to play, and, as the sparks float away in the branches of Shabwaway's ancient apple trees and the adjacent forest, there sits around the old hearth-stone and in the former door yard of this



# HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

old Indian home, another audience, of another people, telling other stories, of other days.

## PAY-BAW-ME-SAY.

Pay-baw-me-say or "Be-Ba-mis-se" (Flying Bird), son of Shabwaway, was later known and called by his father's name, with the addition or rather prefix of the plain Anglo-Saxon name of "John," and his name so appears in a United States patent and in a deed given by him. His surviving spouse and other Indians say that at the time of his father's death he became by heredity, chief of the depleted band of Chippewas and Ottawas then remaining here. Considering the small number of the band, said to be all told about two hundred, considering also, that the occasions and emergencies requiring the use of the high prerogatives of an Indian chieftain did not then exist, and that by the treaty of 1855 tribal relations had been abolished for nearly twenty years, this distinction was certainly an empty honor. Pay-bawme-say also lived and died in this same log cabin, his death occurring about the year 1882. Ten or fifteen years after his death there was an unkind (and it is to be hoped untrue) rumor or tradition among the very early summer residents, often told with such variations as would entertain newcomers, to the effect that his death was due to falling into





Photo by the author (1901)
"BESH-A-MIN-IK-WE"
Aged Indian woman
of Hessel and great-grand
daughter Eliza



## LATER AND RECENT INDIAN HISTORY

the fire place of the "old chimney" one night after a visit to some white man's tavern, but this statement is both strenuously resented and denied by his family.

#### MIS-HA-BOS.

There was also, it is said upon good authority, another Indian of Les Cheneaux who was a "secondary" chief—"Mishabos" (Great Hare) by name, regarding whom the writer has no further information.

"MRS. SHABWAY" OR "BESH-A-MIN-IK-WE"—THE AGED OTTAWA WOMAN OF HESSEL.

The daughter-in-law of Chief Shabwaway, called by her white neighbors "Mrs. Shabway" on account of that relationship (widow of Pay-baw-me-say), whose correct Indian name is "Besh-a-min-ik-we," although sometimes written "Pay-she-min-e-qua" and whose portrait appears on another page, must, of necessity, be given more than passing notice, as, for twenty years, she has been a very important personage in the annals of Les Cheneaux. Summer residents and tourists have, on account of her marriage into the former reigning family of these parts, and also on account of her supposed extreme old age, given her and her history unusual attention. This they have done,



especially by adding from three to five years to her age for each decade, until she has at various times reached many venerable ages, ranging from one hundred ten to one hundred twenty-eight years, while some conservative folk about the year 1890 conceded that her age was not then over one hundred five. Her reputation for such unusual longevity and as a former Indian princess, has caused many pilgrimages of idle and curious tourists to her humble Hessel home, and the telling of many impossible tales of her presence at the Fort Mackinac massacre and her marriage during the War of 1812.

It is with the utmost reluctance and regret that the writer questions the exceptional mathematical skill that has thus provided Les Cheneaux with one of its most important objects of historical interest, but, having over ten years ago, entertained the fear that with her then supposed advanced age of one hundred fifteen years or thereabouts, her recollection of ancient events might be forever lost to posterity, he obtained an interview, spent the best part of a day with a competent Indian interpreter (as she does not speak a word of English), and then learned facts that would indicate her age at the present time (1911) to be between eighty-five and ninety years, which is also the opinion of the best Indian authorities.



This interview, thus obtained, for which Besha-min-ik-we is entitled to due thanks and credit as well as for several others of like import, is however, in other respects interesting. The original notes are still at hand and her statement with the writer's notations between [ ] is as follows:

"I was born at Saginaw and am an Ottawa by birth; do not know my age but I was 15 years old when I was married, and the year I was married I came to Marquette Island to live. My husband was Be-ba-mis-se, son of Shab-wa-way, who was the chief then in authority from the Monoskong to Pine river. His name means 'Echo from a distance.' The year I was married there was a 'Treatment'-[treaty] with the Ottawas and Chippewas at Mackinac Island, and I was personally present. I do not know the year but it was in the summer time. There were very many Indians there so that their wigwams, two rows of tents, extended almost all around Mackinac Island. This treaty gave up the land from Pickford to Pine River and by this treaty Shabwaway, who was an Ottawa, retained Marquette Island and quite a lot of land on the mainland around Hessel, and he made and signed the treaty." [This supposed treaty at Mackinac Island was probably not a treaty at all, but likely the occasion when goods were distributed to the Indians pursuant to and after the treaty of Washington D. C., March 28th, 1836.] "Shabwaway died in the log house, where the 'old chimney' now is near the club house-'he died of sickness' and was buried in the old Indian cemetery at Patrick's. All of my children were buried there, too. There were a good many other Indians buried there, whose names I don't know; my husband, Shab-wa-way's son, died in the same log house 'of sickness.' He was out of his head two



years before he died. When the treaty was signed we had few neighbors and we had the only permanent house except the Catholic priest around here, or on the lands which the Indians gave up; the rest of the Indians, I cannot tell how many there were, roamed around and lived in bark wigwams; they used to come two or three families and live near us. I used to hunt and trap and work in the field and set bear traps. There were no other Indians living on Marquette Island during Shab-waway's time, except 'Toschcono,' a Chippewa, and his family. He was on the island a few years, opposite Patrick's. He asked Shab-wa-way if he could come and Shab-wa-way let him come; Toschcono died before the first treaty. I had ten children and they and all my grand children are dead now, except one grandchild, Joseph Besoiea, Indian name, 'Wa-ba-oosee' living at Hessel. (He is working today for Mr. Charles Stoll at the club house.) He has but one child, in English we call her Eliza. We also have an Indian name for her which means 'Laughing Water.' We were the only Indians on Marquette Island except as I have stated. Shab-wa-way told me that long ago before his people lived here, there were other Indians on the point of Marquette Island opposite Hessel. I do not remember any name we had for that island. We called the water between the Islands and the main land 'Onomonee'" [Anaminang] "which means in English the Channels: I remember no wars in which the Indians were engaged. When I first came to Marquette Island, there was a Catholic priest on the mainland where Derby's farm now is. I do not know his name in English, but the Indians called him a name in Chippewa which means 'Iron Head.' He baptized all the Indians he could and died at Sheboygan, Michigan," [Error as to date. Undoubtedly Father Piret, who came there much later.] "Shabwaway was over 100 years old when he died; he



was quite a hunter; he had only two children, sons, one died and I married the other. We raised near the old chimney, corn and potatoes and had apple and plum trees and gooseberry bushes; I left the old log house eighteen years ago when my grandson was four years old, he is now twenty-two; the log house was burned up by white people after I left it. My daughter had another log house where the club house stands that was burned up by the whites, too. When the old chief died, my husband was chief, and was known as 'Shab-wa-way Two' [The Second]."

This interview was obtained and written down on August 8th, 1901, and is transcribed from the original notes and is here written as given by the interpreter to the writer, except that, in two or three instances, sentences relating to the same subject are placed together which were separated in the original notes, and also with the further exception that the interpreter repeatedly (with unconcious wit and perhaps with no little literal truth) spoke of the treaty as "the treatment." At that time, "Mrs. Shabway" seemed to have good recollection and was in perfect health. She was then living as she is at this writing, in the Indian settlement at Hessel and in those days was very active in the summer time, weaving Indian rugs and mats that were in great demand by her customers among the summer residents, with whom she could and did drive good bargains, thus sustaining the tribal reputation as a trader. In win-



ter she was equally active with her traps with which she caught mink and rabbits, traveling considerable distances through the snow in so doing. During the past ten years, due to the infirmities of age, she has been less and less active each succeeding year. The photograph appearing upon another page was taken by the writer the day of this interview, and the child in her arms is her greatgranddaughter, Eliza Besoiea, mentioned in the foregoing interview. Whatever may be the present age of Beshaminikwe, her life and recollection of early events and the Indians of Les Cheneaux, before the white settlers arrived, is certainly of interest.

#### INDIAN TRAILS.

In many places the old Indian trails are of such historic importance that they have received careful study by historians, one writer devoting a volume to the subject of "Red Men's Roads—The Indian Thoroughfares of the Central West." Such trails often connecting by the most direct routes prominent places and trading posts, were later used by the pioneers, and finally became established roads and great modern thoroughfares. Here, however, Indian travel is and ever has been almost entirely by water, as the Indians of the Great Lakes were expert canoe-men. Therefore,



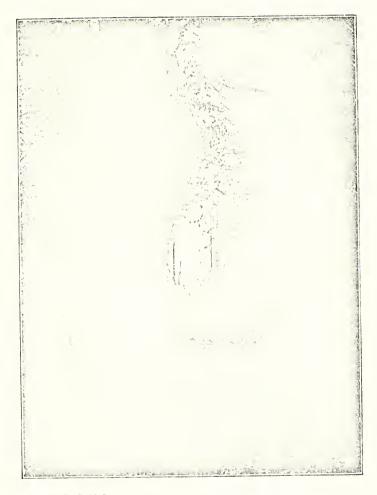


Photo by D. G. McGrew

THE OLD PORTAGE ROAD



there are few Indian trails of any great length or of special historic importance at Les Cheneaux, but there are many short ones. The most important in point of length was the old trail leading from the Sault, more than forty miles long, which reached Les Cheneaux at the present site of Hessel. Many short trails follow the shore of Lake Huron or shorten distances across the many small peninsulas of the mainland and the narrow parts of many of these islands. Most of these trails can yet be easily found and followed, not only by the trails themselves, worn deep into the soil and showing continued use for many years, but in many instances, by the blaze marks (probably of white origin) on the trees, still plainly visible.

Many of these trails were used as portages or carrying places, and one will receive special mention,—"The Old Portage road." It runs east and west through the forest across the northern part of Point Brulee, beginning immediately west of Rogers' island, leading to Search bay, and again continuing across Saint Martin's point to Saint Martin's bay. This is indeed an ancient highway, as it was used often by the explorers and early voyageurs, quite probably by the Indian allies of the British, when they attacked Fort Mackinac in 1812, and according to Indian tradition for unreckoned time by the Indians themselves, as one



relator states "since the year One." This road has been frequently used in recent years for winter travel to Mackinac, the journey being made by team. In earlier years, it was also used with sleds drawn by dogs. The route from Les Cheneaux to Mackinac or Saint Ignace was on land across Points Brulee and Saint Martin's and over the ice of Search bay and the straits for the remainder of the distance. Taking almost the identical route traveled by Father Claude Allouez on the 5th day of November, 1699, and by Father Piret with his dog team 1850-1860. For many years it was the mail route in winter.

Further mention of these Indian trails, portages and carrying places, will not be made here, but it presents an interesting subject for investigation. It is to be hoped that one day, or rather during some summer season, some diligent antiquarian will spend a useful vacation here, supplying this chapter of the Indian history of Les Cheneaux, with more detail, and also with such accurate maps as have in other places proved acceptable additions to local historical data.

#### OLD INDIAN CEMETERY.

On the banks of the mainland, opposite Marquette Island, between Les Cheneaux and Pensylvania hotels, at the location known for



many years as "Patrick's," is an old Indian cemetery, used for more than a generation by the Indians of Les Cheneaux. In the early days, before the advent of saw mills, each grave was roofed over with bark, and later, within the memory of the writer, with boards. These little roofs over the graves, were but one to two feet in height and in every instance open at the gables, following the Oiibway custom, as described by Schoolcraft and other writers, for the purpose of protecting the departed from storms, and by leaving the gables thus opened to permit the spirit at the appointed time, to take its proper flight in a westward journey towards the Pacific ocean to the permanent abode and happy hunting grounds provided by the Great Spirit for all worthy (and so far as can be ascertained, unworthy) Indians. It is also said by the same writers, that Ojibway burials on account of the supposed western location of this paradise were almost invariably made with the body facing the west, but they fail to explain why the gables of the little roofs of these final earthly abodes were left open at both ends. It certainly would be unfair to our present Indian neighbors to suggest the possibility of spiritual flight in the wrong direction by any of their ancestors.

In this little cemetery, in sight of his former home across the channel on Marquette Island, re-



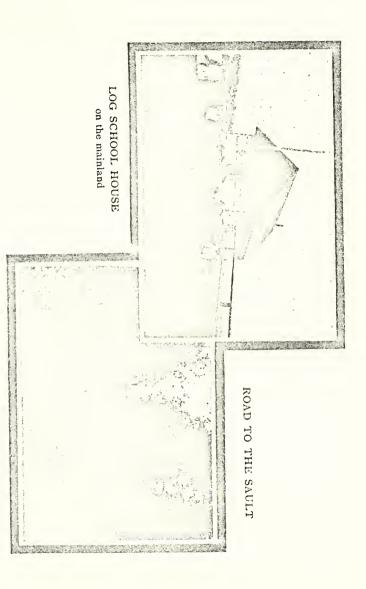
## HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

poses the dust of Chief Shab-wa-way. For several years, Indian burials have not been permitted in this cemetery, as the Indians failed to obtain title to the land, or to legally establish cemetery rights. Many of the graves have been obliterated.

It would certainly be an appropriate proceeding to preserve this land mark, at least, by erecting a monument, marking the site of the old chief's grave.

Although a digression, it may here be noted that among the Hurons there was the same myth as among the Norsemen—that the Milky Way formed the spiritual bridge across which departed souls reached this same immortal and coveted goal, while the souls of dogs took another route, by certain constellations, known as the "Way of the Dogs," possibly the origin of our own folk-lore expression "going to the dogs." (Sagard Voyage des Hurons, 233.)





Photos by the author



# PERIOD OF THE PIONEERS.

FATHER ANDREW D. J. PIRET, CATHOLIC PRIEST OF MACKINAC AND LES CHENEAUX, THE FIRST PERMANENT WHITE SETTLER, 1850—HIS MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THE INDIANS—"LA FERME" HOMESTEAD ON THE MAIN-LAND, NOW DERBY'S FARM AND GOLF GROUNDS—HIS PREDECESSORS AND SUCCESSORS IN MISSIONARY WORK—FATHER CHAMBON, FATHER JACKER AND FATHER WILLIAM F. GAGNIEUR, S. J. OF SAULT STE MARIE—PROTESTANT CHURCHES—WILLIAM A. PATRICK, AN EARLY PIONEER—OTHER PIONEERS—SUDDEN CHANGE OF LES CHENEAUX FROM INDIAN CAMPS TO SUMMER HOMES—A TRIP ON THE MAIN-LAND FROM LES CHENEAUX TO THE SAULT—FATHER PIRET, THE CHARACTER "PERE MICHAUX" IN THE MACKINAC NOVEL "ANNE."

The history of the pioneers and early permanent settlers of most localities, especially in and east of the Mississippi valley, generally includes an extended period of time, covering in some places, more than a century. The pioneer period, is generally supposed to mean those years intervening between the Indian occupation and that period when agriculture is well and permanently established.

Les Cheneaux, like many other parts of northern Michigan, in the heavily wooded country on the lake shores, is a marked exception to this gen-



eral rule. With the exception of Father Piret, William A. Patrick, and the fishermen and lumbermen, there were very few permanent white settlers here, prior to the year 1880, so that the pioneer period is not only very short, but this locality seems almost at once, without the intervening development of the farmer, to have changed from Indian camps to summer homes. The general definition of the pioneer period, beginning with the end of the Indian occupation, does not apply here, as the Indian occupation has not yet entirely ceased.

Should the reader wish even today to see presented in reality the traditions of his ancestors, respecting pioneer life and times, and also to see almost every stage of American rural life in a day's travel by team, he can have that instructive entertainment by starting at Hessel or Cedarville and driving across the northern peninsula of Michigan to the Sault, a distance of about forty miles. Should he start at Hessel, he will first pass a small Indian settlement called by the tourists "the Indian village" within a stone's throw of Lake Huron and Hessel, where the Chippewas and Ottawas still live in log houses. The next ten miles of travel through the "slashings" as left by the wasteful lumbermen, and through a great native forest of hard wood, will suggest recollections of early



## PERIOD OF THE PIONEERS

days, for here and there along the few roads through this wild woodland, will be seen the pioneer, clearing his homestead around his log cabin, with a little garden spot and rail fences, in the same manner as the father or grandfather of the reader has pictured the scene "in early days," in "York State" or elsewhere.

Then too, will also be seen the older settler, harvesting his crop by hand, with cradle or sickle, among the stumps of an older clearing. Coveys of partridges and deer tracks in the road, the tinkling of distant cow bells and the ring of the woodman's axe far away in the forest will also revive recollections of pioneer days, as will the little log school house by the road-side and the bare-footed boys and girls at recess who stare with interest and curiosity at the tourists as they drive by.

Later in this journey, at the summit of the water-shed between Lakes Superior and Huron, when still some thirty miles away from the Sault, will be seen far below, the country hamlet of Pickford, and, in picturesque panorama, the rich and beautiful valley of the Monoskong river, presenting in every feature of its farms and modern buildings another and later stage of agricultural development. Beyond this fertile garden spot—again will be seen the forest, and, far away on the hor-



izon, if the day be clear, Sault Ste Marie, not the Sault of the explorers and early Jesuits, but the modern metropolis with all its water power, turning wheels and locks and boats and commerce.

Such a variety of scenes in one day's travel by wagon road is exceptional these days in the settled parts of the United States, and present an instructive lesson to the student of the history and development of the nation. After such a day's travel, one will not question the statement of Mr. Joseph Fenlon of Hessel, that at the time his father and family settled a mile north of that village, in the early eighties, "there was an Indian settlement at Hessel consisting of about twenty bark wigwams, such as the Indians used before they moved into houses, and several log cabins, all Chippewa Indians, and but one of them could speak a word of English."

However interesting biographical sketches of the pioneers of this region might prove to be, it is deemed most expedient to here present but a list of the early settlers. Many of their names appear in the chapter devoted to the names of islands and places of interest, to which reference is made, and therefore will not here be repeated. With the exception of Father Piret to whom more extended reference will be made and those also appearing post (Chapter VII), the early settlers of



Les Cheneaux, so far as the writer is informed were: William A. Patrick, W. H. Coryell, Edward Fenlon, Anthony Hamel, John Hessel, Charles Hessel, William H. French, W. D. Hossack, James Steel, D. Stewart, John Pollock, M. Pillman, F. R. Haynes, W. H. Law, Abraham Bullard, George Pollard, Patrick Mertaugh, John Weston, William Clark, Jacob Messmer, Amos H. Beach, Charles Weston, James Whiteside, John Maderson, Otto Johnson, Egbert S. Cady, John Young, Mrs. August Anderson, John Mattson, Vancel Hodeck, George Lameraux, John Baker, Joseph Ludlam, George Nicol, and John P. Johnson.

The first summer resident, and as such the pioneer, seems to have been Mr. Henry C. Wisner, a prominent lawyer of Detroit, now deceased, who, accompanied by his army friend, Captain Robert Catlin of Washington, D. C., used to come to Les Cheneaux with an Indian guide in the seventies to fish. Mr. Wisner was an ideal sportsman and angler, a lover of nature and the wilds. He first located at what has ever since been known as "Wisner's point" on Marquette Island in the summer of 1876, where about 1879 he built the first Les Cheneaux summer cottage. Later, and about twenty-five years ago, he abandoned this place and built another cottage on the mainland, west of, and near



#### HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

Hessel, which is still occupied during the summer months by his family.

FATHER PIRET, THE FIRST PERMANENT WHITE SETTLER OF LES CHENEAUX.

Some thirty years before the coming of the later settlers and pioneers, Andrew D. J. Piret, of the Catholic priesthood, then pastor of the Catholic church at Mackinac and Saint Ignace, became the first permanent white settler of Les Cheneaux. He acquired by patent from the government and by purchase, a tract of about one hundred acres on the mainland opposite Marquette Island. This tract ran to the water, the present site of the golf links of Les Cheneaux club, and the same land constituting in part what is now known as "the Derby farm," property of William M. Derby of Chicago, a member of Les Cheneaux club. Here Father Piret made an extensive "clearing" and built a log house and other buildings on the banks of the channel, which he occupied for many years, and during his pastorate at Mackinac which included most of the intervening years from 1846 to 1874. On account of Father Piret's prominence this homestead was at that time widely known throughout the entire region of the upper lakes, and the Catholic diocese by the name of "Le Ferme" (the farm).





FATHER ANDREW D. J. PIRET

"Pere Michaux" of the Mackinac novel "Anne," pioneer resident of Les Cheneaux and missionary among the Indians (1846-74)



He settled here on account of his love for the wilds and the opportunity thus afforded to pursue his missionary labors among the neighboring Indians, for he not only spoke their language but was a frequent visitor at all the Indian camps and villages from Pine River to DeTour and probably throughout much of the upper lake region, for there was, during much of the period of his work, but one other Catholic priest in upper Michigan. He was always respected and beloved by the Chippewas and Ottawas with whom he labored, and the Indians knew him by an Algonquian word denoting a man of wisdom which the Indians interpret, perhaps a little clumsily, into English, as "Iron-Head." He is still remembered and kindly spoken of by the older Indians, although more than a generation has elapsed since his death.

While Father Piret spent part of each year at this homestead, he was much of the time at Macinac and Saint Ignace or absent on his missionary labors, and at times during his absence employed a half-breed Indian who was in charge of the homestead. He had a chapel at this place where he officiated and where the Indians used to come at stated times to attend the services. One of the Mackinac histories (Kelton's Annals of Fort



Mackinac, page 47) has this notation respecting him: "Retired to 'Cheneaux,' 1870."

It is difficult to fix the exact date when Father Piret first located here, but from the original patent and title papers kindly furnished the writer by Mr. Derby, and from other information, it is quite certain that it was as early as the year 1850 or 1851 and possibly before that. Father Piret still owned this farm at the time of his death, which occurred at Cheboygan, August 22nd, 1875, at the age of seventy-three.

Father Piret's home was always open to the travelers of those early days, and many stories and traditions are related of his kindly hospitality. Among his visitors at one time was Captain Allan McIntyre, master for many years of the well known steamship "Manitou," who came in winter over the ice from the Sault to Mackinac, avoiding the shorter route across the mainland on account of the wolves, deep snow and lack of roads. Captain McIntyre was caught in a snow storm, and spent several days with Father Piret who was then living all alone at "La Ferme," in the log buildings part of which still stand at their original location.

Father Piret was a man of high character and great intellectual force; he was the character so forcefully, and, as we are told upon excellent



authority, with painstaking accuracy, portrayed by Miss Constance Fenimore Woolson (a grand niece of James Fenimore Cooper) in her very popular Mackinac novel "Anne," under the name of "Pere Michaux"—the Catholic priest so intimately connected with that ideal picture of Mackinac life, which Anne presents of the years when Miss Woolson and Father Piret lived there. Therefore, it will not be out of place to present, by a few extracts from Miss Woolson's book, not only a more graphic picture of this prototype of Pere Michaux, but of the labors of the priest and missionary whose chosen field was the native people of these straits and islands:

"Pere Mischaux was indeed a man of noble bearing; his face, although benign, wore an expression of authority which came from the submissive obedience of his flock, who loved him as a father and revered him as a pope. His parish, a diocese in size, extended over the long point of the southern peninsula; over the many islands of the straits, large and small, some of them un-noted on the map, vet inhabited, perhaps, by a few half breeds, others dotted with Indian farms; over the village itself, where stood the small weather beaten old church of St. Jean, and over the dim blue line of the northern coast, as far as eye could reach or priest could go. His roadways were over the water, his carriage a boat, in winter a sledge. He was priest, bishop, governor, judge and physician; his word was absolute. His parti-colored flock referred all their disputes to him and abided by his decision—questions of fishing nets, as well as questions of conscience, cases of jealousy, to-



gether with cases of fever. He stood alone. He was not propped. He had the rare leader's mind. Thrown away do you say on the wild northern borders? Not any more than Bishop Chase in Ohio, Captain John Smith in Virginia, or other versatile and autocratic pioneers. Many a man can lead in cities and in camps, among precedents and rules, but only a born leader can lead in the wilderness, where he must make his own rules and be his own precedent every hour."

And should one wish to look into Father Piret's home at Les Cheneaux, as the novelist saw it, although she located it in the novel on an island instead of the mainland, possibly describing it with a little touch of fancy and the romance of fiction, and yet, most probably, truly depicting it, we can read again from "Anne" that:

"Pere Mischaux took his seat in his large arm chair near the hearth" \* \* \* "The appearance of the room was peculiar yet picturesque and full of comfort. It was a long, low apartment, the walls made warm in winter with skins instead of tapestry, and the floor carpeted with blankets; other skins lay before the table and fire as mats. The furniture was rude, but cushioned and decorated, as were likewise the curtains, in a fashion unique, by the hands of half-breed women who had vied with each other in the work, their primitive embroidery, whose long stitches sprang to the center of the curtain or cushion like the rays of a rising sun, and then back again was as unlike modern needle-work as the vace-pictured Egyptians, with eyes in the sides of their heads, are unlike modern photographs; their patterns, too, had come down from the remote ages of the world called the New, which is, however, as old as the continent across the seas. Guns and fishing tackle



hung over the mantel, a lamp swung from the centre of the ceiling, little singing birds flew into and out of their open cages near the windows and the tame eagle sat solemnly on his perch at the far end of the long room. The squirrel and the fox were visible in their quarters, peeping out at the newcomers but their front doors were barred for they had broken parole and were at present in disgrace. The ceiling was planked with wood, which had turned to a dark cinnamon hue; the broad windows let in the sunshine on three sides during the day, and at night were covered with heavy curtains, all save one which had but a single thickness of red cloth over the glass with a candle behind that burned all night, so that the red gleam shown far across the ice like a winter light house for the frozen straits. More than one despairing man, lost in the cold and darkness had caught its ray and sought refuge with a thankful heart. The deep fire-place of this room was its glory: The hearts of giant logs glowed there: It was a fire to dream of on winter nights, a fire to paint on canvas for Christmas pictures to hang on the walls of barren furnace heated houses, a fire to remember before that noisome thing, a closed stove. Round this fireplace were set like tiles rude bits of pottery found in the vicinity, remains of an earlier race. which the half-breeds brought to Pere Michaux whenever their plows upturned them-arrow heads, shells from the wilder beaches, little green pebbles from Isle Royale, agates and fragments of fossils, the whole forming a rough mosaic, strong in its story of the region. From two high shelves the fathers of the Church and the classics of the world looked down upon this scene. But Pere Michaux was no book-worm; his books were men. The needs and the faults of his flock absorbed all his days, and when the moon was bright, his evenings also. 'There goes Pere Michaux,' said the half-breeds, as the broad



sail of his boat went gleaming by in the summer night, or the sound of his sledge bells came through their closed doors—'he has been to see the dying wife of Jean' or 'to carry medicine to Francois.' On the wild nights and the dark nights, when no one could stir abroad, the old priest lighted his lamp and fed his mind with its old time nourishment. But he had nothing modern, no newspapers."

Miss Woolson's account (and it must be remembered she lived at Mackinac during the years of Father Piret's residence there, and thus obtained an intimate knowledge of him) clearly indicates that he was, like Henry R. Schoolcraft, a man with many friends with whom he kept in close contact by correspondence, although they lived far away and remote from "Le Ferme" and its surrounding islands. This is clearly indicated by one of her references which is as follows:

"Pere Michaux's correspondence was large. From many a college and mission station came letters to this hermit of the North on subjects as various as the writers: the flora of the region, its mineralogy, the Indians and their history, the lost grave of Father Marquette (in these later days said to have been found) the legends of the fur-trading times, the existing commerce of the lakes, the fisheries and kindred subjects were mixed with discussions kept up with fellow Latin and Greek scholars exiled at far off southern stations, with games of chess played by letter, with receipts for sauces, and with humorous skirmishings with New York priests on topics of the day in which the northern hermit often had the best of it."

The writer is indebted to Hon. Benoni Lachance



of Mackinac island, for information respecting Father Piret, which entirely corroborates the foregoing estimates of his personality and character. Lachance not only knew him intimately, but during the latter days of Father Piret's life was his business agent. Lachance says of him:

"Father Piret was a Belgian by birth and was reputed to belong to the Royal House of that country. He was educated in Europe and is said to have graduated from the Medical Academy of Paris. He was a grand and great man and priest, and in his day also noted here as a physician of ability. He was a large man physically, of handsome physique and appearance, not less than six feet tall, straight as an arrow and with a perfect military bearing; he was at Les Cheneaux as early as 1850; he went there to build a secluded home and chapel where he could minister to the welfare of the Indians among whom he constantly labored, and over a wide territory including Mackinac, Manitou, Cheboygan, Chippewa, and counties. He owned lands at DeTour and in many places along the north shore of Lake Michigan and elsewhere. He died and was buried at Cheboygan in 1878 at the age of seventy-eight years."

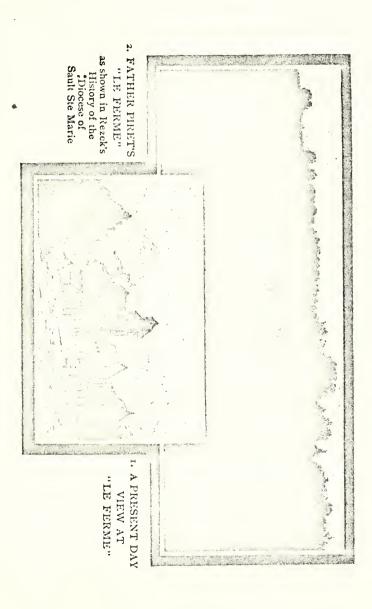
In the recent and very interesting "History of the Diocese of Sault Ste Marie and Marquette and of the development of the Catholic church in upper Michigan" written by Father Antoine J. Rezek of Houghton (1906) Father Piret, and his "Le Ferme" homestead at Les Cheneaux, are given extended reference from which the following extracts are quoted:



"He was one of the only two priests laboring in upper Michigan when Baraga became its first Bishop. He came as a secular priest to Detroit in 1846 and then received his first appointment to the historic Island of Mackinac. Many long years of service followed. Despite the ups and downs in the early missionary life, he continued in the pastorate of the dual parish St. Ignace-Mackinac, for over twenty years. So attached he became to this romantic region that he was determined to live out his days there. He acquired a farm on Les Cheneaux Islands and built up a home widely known as 'Le Ferme.' This home very much resembled a European castle, but was nothing more than a modest house with an adjoining chapel. A fire destroyed the buildings in 1868 when Father Piret retired from work. He moved to Cheboygan, Michigan, where he died August 22nd, 1875, aged seventy-three vears."

Father Rezek gives in his book a fanciful but very interesting picture (by his courtesy shown on another page) entitled: "Father Piret's La Ferme at Les Cheneaux Islands" showing an extensive establishment of many buildings, some adorned with towers, of Gothic and mediaeval architecture, which does not seem to support the text to the effect that the establishment "was nothing more than a modest house with an adjoining chapel." This picture, Father Rezek informs the writer, was originally "drawn from reality just before the fire destroyed the buildings, by a visiting acquaintance of Father Piret."







LATER CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND MISSIONARIES, FATHERS JACKER, CHAMBON AND GAGNIEUR.

The view given in the novel of the character and especially of the labors of this Catholic priest and missionary of the straits is not overdrawn. While the life of the early Jesuit was one of untold labor, hardship and peril, still the Catholic priest of the straits, even in these later days, who does efficient missionary work among the Indians, with a flock so widely scattered, and who officiates at churches so wide apart, pursues a life of labor and toil. He may in summer, use the passenger boats and reach easily the few places where they land, but he is often his own sailor and exposed not only to the perils of navigation but to wintry storms and long tedious voyages and delays. Father Piret is not the only man who with self-sacrificing devotion has thus pursued his calling and such missionary labors at Les Cheneaux. Among others may be named Rev. Father Edward Jacker, ("Discoverer of Marquette's grave") a gentleman of learning and ability, an expert Indian linguist, who in the years intervening between 1873 and 1886 while stationed at Mackinac Island and DeTour, also labored here; Father Joseph F. Chambon, S. J., who gave over thirteen years of his life to this work on the northern pen-



insula and in this locality. Later still, Father William F. Gagnieur, S. J., of Sault Ste Marie, who for the past fifteen years has been so well and favorably known both at the Sault and at Les Cheneaux, officiating at stated times, as he still does, at the little Catholic church of Hessel, founded some twenty-five years ago, and to whom the writer is under obligations here acknowledged, for many items of information respecting Les Cheneaux.

His letters, coming as they have, from widely distant points about the Sault and the straits, are not of interest alone for the information so kindly supplied, but corroborate the statement that this work is even now much as it was in the days of Dablon, Allouez, Marquette and Piret. Short extracts from two letters dated at Drummond Island, of November 10th and 12th, 1910, will here be given.

"I am on this island in a wilderness called by the natives 'Half Way' and I am writing from an Indian home." \* \* \*

"I am still wind-bound. I have asked a few questions of the Indians here and found some of my opinions confirmed."

The protestant denominations and their pastors have also shown creditable activity in the founding and support of their churches at Hessel and Ce-



darville. References to the historic zeal of the Catholic missionaries, should in no way detract from the credit, justly due, to these other religious workers.



# LES CHENEAUX CLUB; SUMMER HOMES AND SUMMER RESIDENTS.

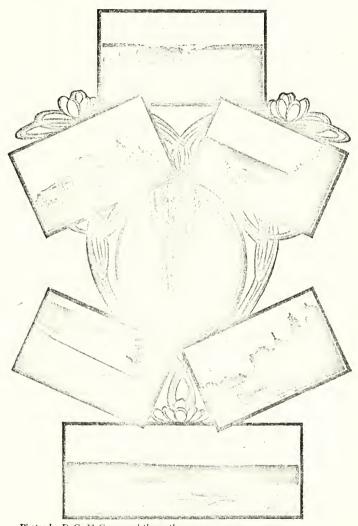
LES CHENEAUX CLUB—HISTORY OF ITS ORGANIZATION IN 1890
—"CLUB POINT"—FORMER INDIAN OWNERSHIP — CLUBHOUSE GROUNDS FORMER HOME OF LES CHENEAUX INDIAN
CHIEF, SHABWAWAY—FATHER PIRET'S HOMESTEAD, NOW
DERBY FARM, CLUB'S GOLF GROUNDS—SUMMER HOMES
AND SUMMER RESIDENTS.

#### LES CHENEAUX CLUB.

The members of Les Cheneaux club were pionneers as summer residents and entitled to the credit of early discovering and appreciating the natural beauty of these islands for summer homes, for when the club house was opened and the cottages of its members occupied for the first time in July, 1890, there was but one other summer cottage here.

For some five years prior to 1888 Michel Saint Ledger, a Frenchman, from whom Saint Ledger's Island takes its name, was living in a log house on the spot now occupied by the lodge of the club's caretaker. St. Ledger had no ownership of the land but was tenant at will or by sufferance of the Indian owners. He was a fisherman and for several years earned a frugal living by boarding visiting fishermen and hunters in this log house and





Photos by D. G. McGrew and the author

AMONG LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS



## LES CHENEAUX CLUB

furnishing them with guides. Among his patrons were the founders of Les Cheneaux club, who, during their fishing and hunting trips here, conceived the idea of a summer home at this place for themselves and their families. They were mostly Michigan men and largely from Bay City and that vicinity.

William L. Benham, then of Bay City, a rail-road official, undertook the task of promoting the enterprise, and Dr. Will Walter, the first secretary of the club, now of Evanston, Illinois, his brother-in-law, was associated with him. In the year 1888 Benham purchased for the enterprise the Indian title to what is now known as Club point, a tract of about fifty-four acres.

This tract of land was then in a wild state—a forest fire had stripped the western part of the tract of the larger timber and it was covered with a dense growth of under-brush, but the natural beauty and elevation of this point above Lake Huron, with the channel and bay on either side caused this selection. Dr. Walter says when it was surveyed and when he located the spot for the club house this under-brush was almost impenetrable and that he was surprised to find hidden away in this brush on the present site of a cottage now known as "The Cabin"—its predecessor, viz: a deserted log cabin which, on account of this

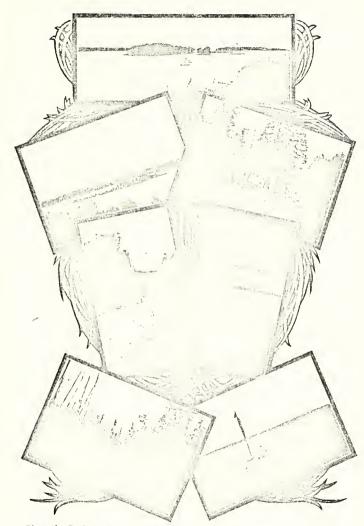


dense underbrush he did not know was there. This old cabin had been the homestead of a grand-daughter of Shab-wa-way, the Indian chief.

In the same year, 1888, this tract of land was subdivided into building lots, highways, foot-paths and parks for the use of the club's members and designated as "Les Cheneaux subdivision." The enterprise was administered in the first instance through an improvement association. The club was also then organized, officers were elected and Albert E. Bousfield of Bay City chosen as its first president, which office he held continuously for some ten years. Plans for the club house and several cottages were prepared and during the years 1889 and 1890 these buildings and the appurtenant docks, walks, boat houses, water works, and other improvements, sufficient for the membership, were so far completed that the club house opened for the entertainment of its members and their families for its first season in July, 1890.

The conception of its founders is thus stated in the first club book or prospectus: "The idea of the association is the formation of a club of friends to occupy a point of land in Les Cheneaux Islands where they may make improvements for the comfortable housing of members and their families, leaving the surroundings in their natural condition." This conception has always been adhered





Photos by D. G. McGrew and the author

VIEWS AT LES CHENEAUX



#### LES CHENEAUX CLUB

to as the club has been maintained as a family club and the surroundings kept as far as possible in their natural state.

During the next succeeding twenty years many improvements have been made, additional land has been acquired in order to protect and preserve the surroundings in their natural beauty according to the original plan, affording in addition to the club subdivision a natural park of over fifty acres, that may be enjoyed by those who frequent the footpaths laid out through the forest, still preserved as they were during the recent Indian ownership. All the adjacent islands have either been acquired by the club or its members for the same purpose. Most of Father Piret's farm on the opposite mainland has been utilized for the club's golf grounds. New cottages have been added from year to year until there are now about thirty-five in number.

Ten years ago (1901) the Club was incorporated under the "Summer Homes" Act of Michigan which gives it many of the powers of the ordinary village or municipal corporation, including control of docks, highways, adjoining waters and general police powers, the latter administered through a police officer with the title of "Marshal" provided for by this law. So orderly and peaceful has been the conduct of the members and their visiting friends and neighbors that Mr. John Pol-

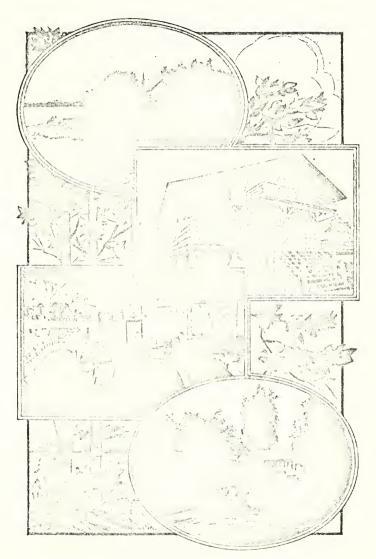


lock, a respected citizen of this locality, the club caretaker, elected to this high and responsible office about ten years ago, and who may be seen any summer's day from the decks of passing yachts and steamers, has, at this writing, made but a single arrest. May the restful and law-abiding atmosphere of this cool northland insure for his successors in office the same measure of inactivity as a peace officer!

It is not within the scope of this brief history to go into details regarding the personnel of the members and officers of this club who have thus provided and maintained this beautiful summer home for their families and friends, but it may be generally and truthfully stated, that the names that have appeared and do appear upon its membership list, have borne no unimportant part in the world's affairs. Its members were in the first instance mostly citizens of Michigan, later those from Chicago predominated, still later a like number from the good old southern clime of Kentucky. At the present writing at least ten states of the Union are represented in the membership and their families.

Some of the members have spent more than twenty summers here and have observed the little children of their club friends and summer neighbors ripen with the years into useful men and wo-





TYPICAL SUMMER HOMES OF LES CHENEAUX



men, like the birch trees which constituted much of the underbrush when the club house was built and which now stand staunch and high, towering above the roofs of these summer homes.

While there are many other beautiful and restful places at Les Cheneaux, "Club point" and the grounds of Les Cheneaux club will ever bear in some measure a charm that must be denied to other places among these islands, however attractive they may be, for it must be remembered, if we credit Indian tradition, that when the ancestors of the leading chiefs of the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians, years before the coming of the first white man, had their choice of all these islands for a home, they chose this identical spot and made the same choice that the founders of this club made some centuries later, when they, too, as pioneers, were presented with the opportunity of a like choice.

SUMMER HOMES AND SUMMER RESIDENTS.

The past two decades have seen a steady and remarkable growth in the summer population of Les Cheneaux. The shores of these islands and of the adjacent mainland, but a few years ago fringed with an almost unbroken line of native forests, are now dotted with homes bespeaking for their owners both modesty and taste in their architecture and furnishings.



The objections to the usual crowded summer resorts, at many points about the lakes, have brought to this ideal spot citizens of many states, who not only love and admire the beauty and the charm of island and mainland, lake and bay and channel, the wild woodland, the cool breezes of old Lake Huron and all the romance of the most interesting history of Les Cheneaux, but who have come to stay and to enjoy for themselves, with their families and friends what Henry Van Dyke names as one of the guide posts and foot-paths to peace—"To spend as much time as you can with body and with spirit in God's out-of-doors."

It would indeed be a pleasure and not a task for the writer to speak of many of these residents by name and of some, if not all of those friends and summer neighbors, that it has been the good fortune of himself and his family to see and to know in twenty summers spent amid these islands. However, still again remembering that the title page contains the words "brief history," he must deny himself that pleasure and privilege, and be content as a candid annalist and with true patriotism to say that take them all in all, on no mainland, or island of lake or sea, will be found a better community in which to dwell, be it for a day, or a summer, or for a liftime.



# VII.

# ORIGIN OF NAMES OF ISLANDS AND PLACES APPEARING UPON MAPS OF LES CHENEAUX.

Many places and points of interest appearing upon the maps of Les Cheneaux prepared and published by the government from lake surveys, and upon other maps not official in character, are derived from the names of early lumbermen, settlers and homesteaders. For convenience and reasonable brevity an alphabetical list of some of the most prominent sites will be given. This list is compiled from information derived in part from old settlers, and, while there may be some inaccuracies, it is believed that in the main the origin of the names given will be found correct.

ARNOLD POINT—From Mr. George T. Arnold of the Arnold Transit Co., of Mackinac Island, former owner.

Alligator Island—From its shape, also known as Echo Island.

BEAR ISLAND—Origin of name unknown—probably on account of some early adventure of a hunter with a bear.

Bush's Bay-From an early lumberman (1880) of that name.

BIRCH ISLAND—From a former dense growth of birch trees on this island.

BOOT ISLAND—From its shape.



BEAVER TAIL POINT—From its oval shape like the tail of a beaver.

CEDARVILLE—So named by early residents when the postoffice was established there in 1886, and having reference to the extensive trade in this locality in cedar poles, posts and railroad ties.

CHIMNEY POINT—Called also "The old chimney," site of Chief Shabwaway's log cabin, Les Cheneaux club grounds on Marquette Island.

COATS POINT—From Captain L. B. Coats, an early fisherman.

CONNOR'S POINT—From Charles Connors, former owner. Coryell's Island—From W. H. Coryell, owner, an early pioneer and homesteader.

CORYELL'S POINT-From W. H. Corvell, owner.

CLUB POINT—Site of Les Cheneaux club, Marquette Island.

CUBE POINT—See "Ke-che-to-taw-non" Point.

DERBY FARM—From present owner, William M. Derby, formerly Father Piret's farm.

DOLLAR ISLAND—From the fact that it was first bought at government sale at that price.

DOT ISLAND—From its small size and circular shape, adjoins St. Ledger's Island.

DUCK BAY—From the abundance of the water fowl found there.

EAST ENTRANCE—One of the three channels navigable for large boats, east of Boot Island (See Chap. IX).

Echo Island—Opposite Club Point, so named by early Les Cheneaux club members by reason of the echo heard from the club house grounds before a fire destroyed part of the timber, known also as Alligator Island on account of its shape.



#### ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

FENLON'S ISLAND—Opposite Hessel—from Mr. Edward P. Fenlon, present owner, son of the pioneer of the same name. Known also as Haven Island.

GROVER'S ISLAND—From Frank R. Grover, who obtained the patent from the government,—same as Grover and Wheeler's Island, and so appearing on the government map.

Goose Island—So called as early as 1784,—same as "Isle aux Outardes" of the French; probably from the abundance there at one time of wild geese. (See Chap. XI respecting Alexander Henry, the English trader, and Chippewa chief Wa-wa-tam, 1764.)

GOLF GROUNDS-Site of Father Piret's farm.

GOVERNMENT ISLAND—Same as "Island No. 6." Owned and used by the United States in light-house construction and quarrying of rock there for light-house purposes. Name of "Government Dock" on east side of this island same origin. Here the rock for Spectacle Reef light house was quarried and shipped, and parts of the light-house were constructed. On the government map of the land surveys of 1840-46 appears the notation "Island No. 6 permanently reserved for light-house purposes."

GOVERNMENT BAY—From its proximity to Government Island.

HAVEN ISLAND—Opposite Hessel, known also as Fenlon's Island.

HESSEL-From John Hessel, its first postmaster.

HILL'S ISLAND—From Mason Hill.

ISLE AUX OUTARDES—Early French name for Goose Island. (See Chap. XI.)

ISLE "CAUK-GE-NAH-GWAH"—Indian (Ojibway) name for this island from the fish commonly known as the "Bull-Head," the outline of this island closely resembling the shape



of that fish, the bay at southerly end of the island representing the open mouth of the fish. Same as Long Island.

ISLANDS NUMBER 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8—so named upon maps of government surveys (of 1840 and 1845), as one informant says, "when the surveyors ran out of names."

"Ke-che-to-taw-non" Point—From an Indian who obtained government patent, pursuant to Indian treaty of 1855, designated also on one government map as "Cube Point," the latter name referring also to a local Indian of that name: known also as Stoll's Point (from former owner, Mr. Charles H. Stoll), now owned by Mr. F. A. Hardy.

"Kee-way-din" Island—(The Home of the North West Wind)—from Hiawatha, same as Rogers Island.

LAKE HURON—From the Huron Indian nation: called also by Champlain "Mer Douce": Shown on Hennepin's map as "Lake Huron or Karegnondi," the latter designation the Indian name in 1679 according to Hennepin; known also by very early writers as "Lake Orleans."

LITTLE ISLAND—Near St. Leger Island, property of Mrs. Nathalie Buchanan, of Louisville, Ky.

LA SALLE AND LITTLE LA SALLE ISLANDS—From the explorer, date first so called unknown, probably from very early times. Outline (but not name) shown on Jesuit maps of 1670-71. The larger one of the two islands designated upon the maps of government survey of 1840 and 1845 as "La Salle Island."

Lone Susan Island—From Susan Gesish, an Indian woman who camped there, name first given by Capt. C. K. Brandon of Detroit, former Vice-President of Les Cheneaux club, one of its most respected members, now deceased, who built the first cottage at Club Point, and was a charter member of Les Cheneaux club.



# ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Long Island—From its shape, known also as Seiberling's from its present owner, Mr. Frank A. Seiberling, of Akron, Ohio. See, for correct name and its origin, "Isle Cauk-ge-nah-gwah."

Marquette Island—From Father Marquette, date first so called unknown, but quite accurately designated (but not by name) on maps drawn by Father Marquette himself in 1670 and 1673, designated upon maps of U. S. land surveys of 1840 and 1845 as "Marquette Isle."

McKay's Bay-From John McKay, a lumberman.

MIDDLE ENTRANCE—One of the three channels navigable for large boats and located between Marquette and Little La-Salle Islands. (See Chap. IX.)

MUSCALLONGE BAY—From the great number and size of the fish of that name caught there.

Moscoe Channel—From Moscoe, an Indian living there for many years and until recently.

MISMER BAY-From a lumberman of that name.

MELCHOIR'S POINT-From Milo Melchoir.

OLD PORTAGE ROAD—From its use for a long space of time, probably as early as the seventeenth century, and before that by the Indians, and by the early explorers as a portage or carrying place.

"Outard Point"—(Goose Point). Not appearing by that name on present day maps, probably identical with either "Point Brulee" or "Point Fuyards," most likely the former, origin of name same as "Isle Aux Outardes." September 5th to 8th, 1825, Henry R. Schoolcraft, on his way from Mackinac Island to the Sault, was here stormbound. For details of his voyage and a poem here written in his camp by Mr. Schoolcraft, entitled "Outard Point." See Schoolcraft's "Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes" (pp. 231, 232, 233, 234).



PRENTISS BAY-From George H. Prentiss.

PECK'S BAY-From Frank Peck, an early lumberman.

PECK'S POINT—Same origin as Peck's Bay.

"PATRICK'S"—Location of first hotel, and homestead of William A. Patrick, a pioneer.

Point Fuyards—Most southerly point of Marquette Island, from wreck of a fishing vessel owned by "Joe" Fuyard, "which drove ashore in 1851," it is said (see also "Outard Point"). Shown upon various maps by the following other names, "Pt. Fugard," "Pt. Foyard," "Point Fuyard," used frequently by early explorers and Jesuits as a landing and camping place.

POINT BRULEE—Origin of name unknown, probably from the noted interpreter for the Huron nation (1615-1633), Etienne Brule. See also "Outard Point."

Pollock's Island—A small reef due north of Club Point,—from John Pollock, club care-taker and marshal, owner of an adjacent farm on the mainland, who claims title by right of first discovery and possession (in a year of low water).

ROGER'S ISLAND—From its owner, Mr. James H. Rogers, of Cleveland, Ohio; same as "Kee-way-din" Island.

ROVER ISLAND-Origin unknown.

SEARCH BAY—Origin doubtful. One authority says from the fact that navigators frequently ran their vessels there by mistake for the "West Entrance" and then searched for the navigable channel and an outlet from the bay. Posssibly on account of a search along its shores, by the Indians, for a boy lost and found dead in the woods, who undertook to reach the Sault from Mackinac through the forest. See Schoolcraft's account of this incident.

St. Ledger Island-From Michel Saint Ledger, a fisher-



## ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

man, so named by first Les Cheneaux club officers as a compliment to St. Ledger. (See Chap. VI.)

SCOTTY'S BAY—From "Scotty" Anderson, a homesteader, it is said.

SUNSET POINT—A name given to the western extremity of Club Point by club members by reason of the beautiful view of the channels and islands at sunset. (See illustration on the cover.)

SCAMMON'S HARBOR—From the fact that Capt. Scammon, master of a sailing vessel, ran his ship there for shelter during a storm in 1860, it is said.

"THE OLD CHIMNEY"—Land-mark at site of Indian Chief Shabwaway's former residence, club house grounds on Marquette Island. (See frontispiece.)

URIE BAY-From Charles Urie, owner of Urie Point.

URIE POINT-From Charles Urie, owner.

VOIGHT BAY-From Frederick Voight.

WEST ENTRANCE—One of the three channels navigable for large boats, between Point Brulee and Coats Point. (See Chap. IX.)

WHITE LOON ISLAND—Near and adjoining Saint Ledger's Island, property of Mrs. Nathalie Buchanan, of Louisville, Ky.

WISNER'S POINT—From Henry Clay Wisner, a Detroit lawyer, one of the first summer residents, who built first summer home. (See Chap. V.)

WILLIAMS BAY—North of Marquette Island and lying between that island and the mainland, so called from a former homesteader of Marquette Island.

It is to be regretted that none of these islands, channels, bays or other points of interest bear Father Piret's name or the name of Swab-wa-way, and that the names of so few of the famous and



historic explorers, mentioned so often in history, and who were frequent visitors here, have been honored in like manner. It is respectfully suggested that, as time goes by, and the islands now bearing numbers, receive names by new or present owners that this omission may be corrected.



# VIII.

# FISH, FISHING AND FISHERIES.

HISTORIC REPUTATION OF LES CHENEAUX FOR FISH AND FISH-ING-GAME FISH-THE FISHERMEN-"TRUE FISH STO-RIES"-COMMERCIAL FISHERIES-GAME AND GAME TRAILS.

From the earliest times the Straits of Mackinac have had an exceptional reputation for fish and fisheries. Long before the coming of white men and until recent years, the Indian tribes came here from far and near to take in unmeasured quantities the great white fish, Mackinac trout and other fish common to the Great Lakes. Here in the early years these fish were found in greater numbers than in any other inland waters of America with the possible exception of the Sault. Later after the decline of the fur trade, the fisheries of the straits were the chief industries for many years. Cheneaux has not only shared in common with Mackinac this historic reputation in respect to its fish, but the bays and channels of these islands have in this regard a particular and unique history of their own.

Here it was, if we credit Indian tradition, that "Manabozho" or Hiawatha of Longfellow's poem, invented nets for catching fish. (See voyage of Allouez supra.)



For over thirty years this locality was, as it is now, the yearly resort of many of those American followers of Sir Izaak Walton who ever seek the romote haunts of the game fish, the Muscallonge, bass, pickerel, brook trout and all the finny tribes that afford the true sportsman, with his rod and line, hook and fly, with that sport and pastime that will engage for all time to come, as it has in all times past, the endless activities of mankind. The game fish in these waters were so abundant and the sportsmen so many who came here each year, that Les Cheneaux has acquired and still holds a reputation for game fish not excelled, if equalled by any other waters of the Great Lakes.

Should extended reference here be made to the visits and adventures of all the more or less noted fishermen who have frequented Les Cheneaux, even in these modern times, the relation would, of necessity, extend beyond the limits that could be devoted to the exploits of the early voyageurs. Then, too, the writer of history, however modest and brief, must, should he retain the confidence of his readers, have that regard for truthfulness that must always be found in history, and which might be lacking should he go far into a subject where even the most honest of historians have marred—if not lost—their reputations. Therefore if the reader be one of these old time





Photo by Myron E. Wheeler

## A TROUT FISHERMAN



## FISH, FISHING AND FISHERIES

Les Cheneaux fishermen, he will know without the telling, and if he be a newcomer he can, if he be also diligent and curious, learn all there is to know for himself without reference to what has been done in this regard before he came. For all those true and wonderful stories of great catches, great fish and overflowing creels, the reader must consult the guide books, his own experience, or those old-time fishermen who have not lost the mental partition that oft divides memory from imagination—if such there be when tales of fish are told. Should this newcomer consult all of these sources of information, it is believed that his fund of "true fish stories" will be without parallel in the annals of the American angler.

## COMMERCIAL FISHERIES.

Like all other places in the waters lying between Mackinac Island and the Sault, Les Cheneaux has had its share of those hard-working men who have followed fishing as a business. When the birchbark canoe of the fur trader disappeared, it was closely followed by the Mackinaw sail boat of the commercial fisherman. Even now, it is an interesting diversion of the summer tourist, to go at sunrise, with the few men remaining, who still follow this trade, in their still newer craft—the motor boat, and see them lift their nets. Extended ref-



erence will not be made to this industry except to briefly refer to two men who were both pioneers of this district and of this business.

Anthony Hamel, it is said was the first commercial fisherman. Coming here in the year 1876 in the employ of F. R. Hulbert. Five years later in 1881 Mr. Hamel established the fishery shown upon the last government map and upon most of the maps of these islands published during the last thirty years. Mr. Hamel is a respected citizen of this locality, and he and his family are well and favorably known both by the permanent and summer residents of Les Cheneaux.

The most westerly point of Marquette Island is what is designated upon the government maps as "Coat's Point." Upon the maps of twenty years ago this same point was designated as "Coats' Fisheries." Here a successful fishery was established by Captain L. B. Coats of Mackinac Island about the year 1880 which has been carried on until very recent years. One credible authority is to the effect that a fishery was established at this point "fifty years ago."

#### GAME LARGE AND SMALL.

That much of this region is still from one view point, a wild and unsettled country, is demonstrated by the fact that here may still be found the



red deer in considerable numbers both on the mainland and on the largest of the islands, and on the mainland quite frequently the common black or brown bear. Along several of the small streams of the mainland, within walking distance of Hessel, can still be found colonies of beaver in their native haunts displaying all their craft and ingenuity in the construction of dams and winter houses. In the woods partridges are plentiful and wild water fowl still nest and rear their young in some parts of the channels.

The steady growth of population about the islands and the rapidly extending zone of agriculture, now some ten miles distant on the mainland, has, of course, in the past ten years decreased the supply of game, still in the hunting season these woods are the resort of many nimrods from far and near. But a short time ago a large male deer was captured alive in the channel between Echo Island and Les Cheneaux club, and promptly, and properly, confiscated by the state game warden, who removed him to the deer colony in the state park on Mackinac Island, to die, it is to be hoped, of old age, rather than by some sportsman's bullet.

To those lovers of nature and the wilds, the native forests and streams, and all their denizens, large and small, of fur, and fin, and feather, Les



#### HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

Cheneaux and its vicinity has afforded and will afford, for many years to come, an ample field, whether the nature-lover roams along trout stream or old logging road, game or Indian trail by day, or sits by his camp-fire at night. To the writer, his family and camp companions, this precious opportunity coming every year, is one of the brighest and most restful charms of Les Cheneaux.



# NAVIGATION—TIDES AND VARIA-TIONS IN WATER LEVELS.

The channels as heretofore shown were water highways for the craft of early times-canoes and batteaux, later for the craft employed in the fisheries and lumber trade, later still, and during the past twenty years, for the excellent and commodious excursion steamers of the Arnold Transit company in charge of courteous captains and officers and manned with competent crews that during the summer season ply daily between these islands and Mackinac. But still other craft seen in these waters have multiplied wonderfully in recent years, almost every owner of a steam or sailing yacht making a cruise for pleasure to Mackinac Island, comes to Les Cheneaux either for fishing, or to enjoy a cruise among these islands, so that summer residents see much of yacht owners and their friends.

These waters are full of reefs and shoals and with craft of even the lightest draught, the utmost care in navigation and attention to government charts is a necessity. Hardly a year goes by that some careless or unlucky skipper does not find his yacht upon some of these reefs or rocks.



There are but three passages into the channels which are safe for boats of ordinary light draughts, viz: "The West Entrance," lying between Point Brulee of the mainland and Coat's Point of Marquette Island; "The Middle Entrance," lying between Marquette and Little LaSalle Islands, and "The East Entrance" lying east of Boot Island.

As there are no passable wagon roads on any of the islands, and until recent years, but very few on the mainland, which reach the summer homes, travel by summer residents is much as it was and is now by the Indians, almost entirely by water, so that the cottagers who visit their neighbors or go to the stores at Hessel and Cedarville, for the mail or to trade, travel very much as they do in Venice. With the advent and late improvement of the motorboat, these craft are now almost as common in the channels as are automobiles on an urban highway. It is too, an interesting sight to see the Indians of the straits in their Mackinaw sail boats, going to and fro with their families, navigating daily the channels used for centuries of time by their progenitors—the primeval canoe-men.

THE TIDES AND VARIATIONS IN WATER LEVELS.

Beginning with the year 1670, the tides of the Great Lakes, or what appear to be tides, and which are particularly noticeable in the Straits of



## TIDES AND WATER LEVELS

Mackinac and especially so in the narrow channels of Les Cheneaux, enlisted the attention of many writers.

In the Jesuit Relation, for the years 1670-71 Father Dablon, probably transcribing into this Relation Father Marquette's own words and report, gives extended reference to this subject and the result of repeated observations and statistics, stating the conclusion that there are no regular tides that ebb and flow in these waters, but that these periodical variations in water levels are "caused by the winds, which, blowing from one direction or another, drive the water before them and make it run in a sort of flow and ebb."

Explorers and early historical writers since Father Dablon's time have discussed this same question repeatedly; and experts and scientists to this day, disagree in their conclusions. The best authorities, however, seem to have at last reached the conclusion that there are, in fact, regular tides in these waters but causing only slight variations in water levels, viz: a rise and fall of from one to three inches. However, as the waters in the channels repeatedly and very often rapidly rise and fall to a much greater extent it is still the subject of frequent comment and speculation.

The channels, of course, share in common with other waters of the Great Lakes the ordinary



## HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

changes in water levels, due to natural and artificial causes, but the varying stages here are much more noticeable and probably greater than at any other place in the Great Lakes, on account of the peculiar location of these islands. A steady and heavy wind blowing up Lake Huron drives the water before it in a northwesterly course directly into these channels, and a like wind from the opposite direction down Lake Michigan through the straits of Mackinac has a like result by driving the water in a northeasterly direction; and, considering the narrowness of the channels, the effect is immediately noticeable and the subject of comment. We are told that on one occasion years ago the water suddenly rose, to an unprecedented height, presumably from this cause,—a steady and heavy storm, like a tidal wave, covering the land now occupied by the golf club shelter on what was then Father Piret's farm, an elevation of some eight or ten feet. 

## HESSEL AND CEDARVILLE-HOTELS.

#### HESSEL.

A passenger who, of a summer's day, boards one of the little steamers at Mackinac Island for Les Cheneaux, will after a voyage of a little over an hour reach the steamer's first stopping place-Hessel, a little settlement on the mainland, the site of a former Indian village, consisting of three or four stores, two churches, one saloon and about twenty houses and rapidly extending its limits by the addition of summer homes. Rather a bleak and desolate hamlet it may be supposed in winter; but well filled in all the summer days by a population from many states,—the summer residents, who throng its docks and stores, coming in motor boats, yachts and sailing craft to buy supplies, get the mail and daily papers or to meet their friends "when the boat comes in." If the passenger be observing he will also see among the people upon this dock, residents of an Indian settlement called by summer visitors "The Indian village" lying back from the shore. These Indians own small tracts of the land of which they and their ancestors held for centuries undisputed ownership, and here lives "Besh-a-min-ik-we," the aged Indian woman,



## HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

former wife of the local Indian chief, elsewhere mentioned.

This place takes its name from John Hessel, still living here, proprietor of a saw mill, and its first postmaster who received that appointment September 21st, 1888, when the post-office was first established. The first white settlement here was in the year 1885, and one of the pioneers was Edward Fenlon—Fenlon Bros., his sons, being now its leading merchants.

#### CEDARVILLE.

While Hessel is the settlement and trading post at the western part of Les Cheneaux, Cedarville is of equal importance in the eastern part of the channels. It is situated on the mainland, opposite LaSalle Island, in one of the most beautiful locations, a growing hamlet with prosperous stores, church, school and business enterprises, and with a summer population and trade rapidly increasing every year.

It is said that the name was given to Cedarville by Jacob Mesmer, William Clark, George Lamereaux and John Weston at the time when the post-office was first established there in the year 1886, at which time Jacob Mesmer was appointed as the first postmaster. The early settlers and pioneers of Cedarville and its vicinity are elsewhere given



## HESSEL AND CEDARVILLE—HOTELS

special notice. Cedarville adjoins the Principal Meridian as located by the government surveyors where there is a public highway thirty-six miles in length leading due north directly to Sault Ste Marie. It is a popular thoroughfare in summer constituting the overland route to the Sault, across the northern peninsula of Michigan and is the same highway now used for carrying the mail in winter.

## HOTELS.

The first summer hotel built either upon the mainland or the islands, is what is now known as the Pennsylvania House, situated on the mainland near the golf links. The first proprietor was William A. Patrick, one of the very early settlers. With the general growth and improvement, hotels have increased in number and improved in grade, keeping pace from year to year with the rapidly increasing summer patronage. Considering the many excellent hostelries where the tourist and summer resident may now be so well entertained and the probable increase in the near future of like good places, comment as to respective merits and locations is unnecessary and beyond the scope of these pages.



BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT LES CHENEAUX—VISIT OF ALEXANDER HENRY, THE ENGLISH TRADER AND NOTED CHIPPEWA CHIEF, "WA-WA-TAM" TO GOOSE ISLAND IN 1764.

CHANNELS A HIGHWAY IN EARLY DAYS FOR MILITARY EXPEDITIONS PASSING FROM THE SAULT TO MACKINAC—WAR OF 1812—INDIAN ALLIES OF BRITISH—MEETING AT LES CHENEAUX—MICHAEL DOUSMAN—ALEXANDER HENRY, THE ENGLISH TRADER AND "WA-WA-TAM" PARTING AT GOOSE ISLAND (ISLE AUX OUTARDES) MAY 10TH, 1764.

FRENCH, BRITISH AND AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT LES CHENEAUX.

The use of these channels and the adjacent roadstead as a highway between the Sault and Mackinac was not confined alone to the Indians, explorers, fur traders and early missionaries, but from the beginning of the French military occupation of the Seventeenth century to July 18th, 1815, when the British soldiers finally retired from Mackinac to Drummond's Island, it was frequently a military highway as well. It was very frequently used by the French, British and American soldiers con-



#### SOLDIERS AT LES CHENEAUX

cerned in the military occupations and transactions in and about Mackinac. While the details of many of these excursions of the military between the Sault and Mackinac are of interest, in connection with Les Cheneaux history, but one of them will be given particular notice.

Captain Charles Roberts, the British commander at Saint Joseph's Island, was advised on July 15th, 1812, of the declaration of war and by the same message directed by his superior officer to immediately attack Fort Michilimackinac, then in the hands of a very small garrison of United States troops, consisting officers and all, of but fifty-seven effective men. On the following morning, July 16th, he set out with all of his available force, consisting of forty-two regulars, four officers, and two hundred and sixty Canadians. He also added to their number about seven hundred Indians, mostly Chippewas and Ottawas, but among them also quite a number of Sioux, Winnebagoes, and Menomonies. They reached Mackinac in ten batteaux, seventy canoes, and the Northwestern company's ship "Caledonia," which was equipped with two iron six-pound guns.

Lieutenant Porter Hanks, in command of Fort Mackinac, learned the same day through an Indian that such an attack was contemplated and after conference with his associates and the citizens sent



Michael Dousman of Mackinac Island to watch the movements of the Indians in order to ascertain whether the rumor was true, not knowing that the British forces were then so near and not then even knowing that war had been declared. Dousman met the British commander and his forces at Les Cheneaux late in the evening of the same day, was captured, paroled and allowed to land on Mackinac Island at daybreak the next morning, in order to warn the citizens (but not the garrison) so that they could reach a place of safety should a fight ensue. The landing of the British and the bloodless capture of the fort need not be recounted. As to the exact place at Les Cheneaux where Dousman met the British and was captured there seems to be no data. Lieutenant Hanks, in his official report of August 12th, 1812, simply says that it was "within ten or fifteen miles" of Mackinac Island. An early writer (Strang, the Mormon king of Beaver Island) writing in 1854—"Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac" says: "He met them at the Cheneaux." There are the best of reasons for believing that Les Cheneaux was the place of rendezvous for these Indian allies of Captain Roberts, as many of the Indians hastily left Mackinac the same day in this direction and were later found among his forces. It is more than probable



### SOLDIERS AT LES CHENEAUX

that but a part of his Indian force came with him from Saint Joseph's Island.

It certainly must have been an interesting and picturesque array of men that filled the fur traders' little boat, the ten batteaux and the seventy bark canoes of Captain Robert's flotilla, as they sailed and paddled away from their Les Cheneaux rendezvous, to regain again for the British crown. Fort Michilimackinac so reluctantly surrendered by the British at the close of the Revolution. Indians of five different tribes, no doubt arrayed in all the gaudy fabrics so dear to the Indian heart and so joyfully supplied by the Fur company, perhaps, with painted faces and scalp locks adorned with feathers. Armed to the teeth, with muskets, flint-lock guns, knives and tomahawks, plying swift paddle strokes with eager expectancy for the coming fray and spoil. Forgetting all ancient animosities among themselves, in the impending attack upon a common foe; light-hearted Canadian boatmen, and courier-debois, swarthy as their Indian comrades, so intent to serve their fur-trading masters that they forgot all about their national and common enmity towards the new English master they were then so cheerfully serving, and, last of all, the English regulars of the Tenth Royal Veteran battalion, wearing, no doubt, the red coats and all the bright regalia of



those days, and of the soldiers of His Majesty King George the Third.

We cannot say that it would be a true picture to describe their voyage, in true military or naval pomp and procession, with the good ship "Caledonia" with a fair wind, in the van, and all the allies following according to order of importance with their craft in single file. But when it is considered how quietly they moved and landed, and, without alarming the garrison, planted the old six pounders on the summit of the island, at what has since been known as Fort Holmes, we know there must have been, and so far as we can tell, perhaps at Les Cheneaux, some hasty but well arranged plan of march and approach. Possibly the Indians took the shorter route by the Old Portage road and through Saint Martin's Bay in order to reach, quietly and without detection the "British Landing," or, perhaps, these forces moved but in the one procession under cover of darkness, quietly and directly from the "west entrance," of Les Cheneaux to this final goal.

ALEXANDER HENRY AND THE NOTED CHIPPEWA CHIEF, WA-WA-TAM AT LES CHENEAUX, MAY 8TH TO 10TH, 1764.

The travels and stirring exploits of that noted English trader, Alexander Henry, and especially



his adventures and escape at the time of the massacre at old Fort Michilimackinac in 1763 have been recounted time and again. Indeed, the history of Mackinac to be authentic and complete, requires copious extracts from Henry's own account of that great tragedy, constituting a very important chapter in the history of Pontiac's conspiracy. Of equal importance, in correctly presenting an account of the massacre and concurrent events, is the story of the Chippewa chief, Wa-wa-tam, whose fidelity to his adopted brother, the English trader, saved the Englishman's life many times when it hung by a thread. Appropriate praise has been given Wa-wa-tam, not only in the dry prose of many historical writers but in the verse of more than one Mackinac poet.

These very interesting and well-known events will not here be recounted, but it will be recalled that after hiding in "Skull cave" on Mackinac Island for a time, Henry had spent nearly a year in Indian garb following the fortunes of Wa-wa-tam and his family in Indian camps and villages and in the winter's hunt, on what is now the southern peninsula of Michigan, and when they returned in the Spring of 1764, to what was supposed at last to be a place of safety at old Fort Mackinac, Henry's life was again in danger. To prevent his murder at the hands of hostile sav-



ages, his Indian benefactor fled with him in the night to Point Saint Ignace, from there to the Bay of "Boutchitaony" (now Saint Martin's bay), and from thence to "Isle Aux Outardes" (Goose Island). It was on this island of Les Cheneaux group, May 10th, 1764, that Henry made his final escape and was rescued by the Chippewa wife of M. Cadotte, a trader of historic renown, a friend of Henry's and her three French boatmen of the Sault. It was also here that Henry bade farewell to his Indian brother, who, for nearly a year, had many times stood between him and instant death.

Of this visit to Les Cheneaux, Henry himself has left in his memoirs an exact account, and while his whole story is of exceptional interest, we will quote only that portion relating to this incident which in Henry's own words is as follows:

"Wa-wa-tam was not slow to exert himself for my preservation, but leaving Michilimackinac in the night, transported myself and all his lodge to Point St. Ignace on the opposite side of the strait. Here we remained until daylight and then went into the Bay of Boutchitaony, in which we spent three days fishing and hunting and where we found plenty of wild fowl. Leaving the Bay we made for the Isle Aux Outardes, where we were obliged to put in on account of the wind coming ahead. We proposed sailing for the Sault the next morning.

"But when morning came Wa-wa-tam's wife complained that she was sick, adding that she had had bad dreams, and knew that if we went to the Sault we should all be destroyed. To have argued at this time against the infallibility of dreams



## ALEXANDER HENRY AT LES CHENEAUX

would have been extremely unadvisable, since I should have appeared to be guilty, not only of an odious want of faith, but also of a still more odious want of sensibility of the possible calamities of a family which had done so much for the alleviation of mine. I was silent, but the disappointment seemed to seal my fate. No prospects opened to console me. To return to Michilimackinac would only insure my destruction and to remain at the Island was to brave almost equal danger, since it lay in the direct route between the fort and Missisaki, along which the Indians from Detroit were hourly expected to pass on the business of their mission. I doubted not but taking advantage of the solitary situation of the family they would carry into execution their design of killing me.

"Unable, therefore, to take any part in the direction of our course but prey at the same time to the most anxious thoughts as to my own condition, I passed all the day on the highest part to which I could climb of a tall tree and where the lake on both sides of the island lay open to my view. Here I might hope to learn at the earliest possible moment the approach of canoes, and by this means be warned in time to conceal myself.

"On the second morning I returned as soon as it was light to my watch tower, on which I had not been long before I discovered a sail coming from Michilimackinac. The sail was a white one and much larger than those usually employed by the Northern Indians, I therefore indulged in the hope that it might be a Canadian canoe on its voyage to Montreal and that I might be able to prevail upon the crew to take me with them and thus release me from all my troubles.

"My hopes continued to gain strength, for I soon persuaded myself that the manner in which the paddles were used on board the canoe was Canadian and not Indian. My spirits were elated; but disappointment had become so usual with me



# HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

that I could not suffer myself to look to the event with any strength of confidence. Enough, however, appeared at length to demonstrate itself to induce me to descend the tree and repair to the lodge with my tidings and schemes of liberty. The family congratulated me on the approach of so fair an opportunity to escape and my father and brother (for he was alternately each of these) lit his pipe and presented it to me saving 'My son, this may be the last time that you and I shall ever smoke out of the same pipe. I am sorry to part with you. You know the affection which I have always borne you and the dangers to which I have exposed myself and family to preserve you from your enemies, and I am happy to find that my efforts promise not to have been in vain.' At this time a boy came into the lodge informing us that a canoe had come from Michilimackinac and was bound to the Saulte de Sainte Marie. It was manned by three Canadians and it was carrying home Madame Cadotte, wife of M. Cadotte, already mentioned.

"My hope of going to Montreal being now dissipated I resolved to accompany Madame Cadotte with her permission to the Sault. On communicating my wishes to Madame Cadotte she cheerfully assented to them. Madame Cadotte as I have already mentioned was an Indian woman of the Chippewa nation and she was very generally respected.

"Our departure fixed upon I returned to the lodge where I packed up my wardrobe, consisting of my two shirts, pair of leggins and blanket. Besides these I took a gun and ammunition, presenting what remained further to my host. I also returned the silver arm bands with which the family had decorated me the year before.

"We now exchanged farewells with an emotion entirely reciprocal. I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in



it, not without sincere respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members. All the family accompanied me to the beach and the canoe no sooner put off than Wa-wa-tam commenced an address to the Ki-chi-M'ani'-to, beseeching Him to take care of me, his brother, until we should next meet. This he had told me would not be long, as he intended to return to Michilimackinac for a short time only, and then he would follow me to the Sault. We had proceeded to too great a distance to allow our hearing his voice before Wa-wa-tam had ceased to offer up his prayers.

"Being now no longer in the society of Indians, I laid aside the dress, putting on that of a Canadian—a molton or blanket coat over my shirt and a handkerchief about my head, hats being very little worn in this country."

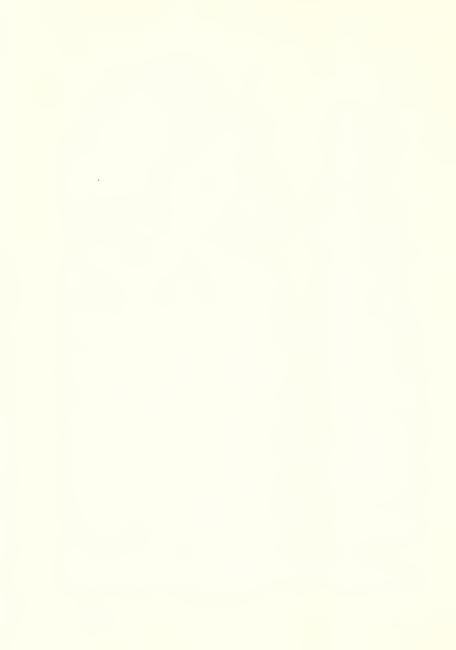
Goose Island, the scene of these events and known to the French as "Isle Aux Outardes," lying two miles south and west of Marquette Island, is nearer to the roadstead of the straits used by the larger craft. It is mentioned by name more frequently in early writings than any other of Les Cheneaux group by reason of its location and also by reason of its frequent use as a place of refuge, by those canoe voyageurs who were caught in sudden storms in traveling the main roadstead instead of the channels nearer the mainland. Such was the case with a company of soldiers in 1784 and with Schoolcraft, September 5th, 1825.

The history of Les Cheneaux to which has here been given but scant and imperfect reference,



opens a wide field for the entertainment and instruction of the reader and student of history. This, and the adjacent roadstead of the straits, was not only an historic highway for over two centuries, but also the doorway to a vast empire and wide domain, where, in endless procession and panorama, men and events were presented that will ever live in American history. Through that doorway and into that field considering the appropriate limitation of these pages, we will wander no farther.

Nearly three centuries have rolled by, since the sturdy paddle strokes of the ancient Hurons, carried the first white man in his westward journey along this highway; the primitive wigwams of the Ojibway and of the Ottawa are seen no more in the forest, nor their birch-bark canoes upon the water; the Iroquois warriors have long since departed to the "undiscovered country;" the explorer, and the wearer of the black robe, journey no more to unknown lands, nor in fruitless search for the short passage to the Orient; the fur trader lives only in memory, or in another North-Land; the last note of the boat-song of the French voyageur, has long since died away in the distance and is now forever hushed; the ceaseless change of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries has given to Les Cheneaux a new meaning, but amid these islands



# . CONCLUSION

and on this mainland, there will ever remain, the scenic beauty of lake, and bay, and channel, of forest and stream, which the tide of years can never wear away, and here, we, and our children, can, in reverie, if not in recollection, enjoy the historic charm of Les Cheneaux as it used to be.



# NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### CHAP. I.

- For first map of Les Cheneaux Islands (1688) drawn by Marquette, see Thwaites "Father Marquette," p. 70. See also 55 Jesuit Relations, p. 94.
- For Marquette's second map (1673-74) showing these islands, 59 J. R., p. 108.
- "Chart of Les Cheneaux Islands," latest map (1906-07) U. S. Lake Survey.
- Regarding the Fur Trade see MacKenzie's Voyages and History of the Fur Trade, Am. Ed. (1803); Memoirs of Gurdon S. Hubbard; Irving's Astoria: Bailey's Mackinac.
- General History of Mackinac Island and the Mackinac District—see Newton's Mackinac Island and Sault Ste Marie (1909); Bailey's Mackinac; The Story of Mackinac, by R. G. Thwaites; Kelton's Annals of Fort Mackinac; Van Fleet's Old and New Mackinac; Williams' Early Mackinac, "The Fairy Island;" E. O. Brown's Two Missionary Priests and Parish Register at Michilimackinac; Strang's Ancient and Modern Mackinac; Michilimackinac, an Important Rendezvous for the Indian Nations, J. R. Vol. 56, p. 117.

#### CHAP, II.

- Jean Nicolet, Life and Voyages, see Wisconsin under French Dominion; Discovery of the North West by Jean Nicolet (Cincinnati 1881) Wis. Hist. Colls., Vol. II, pp. 1-25; 8 J. R., pp. 99, 295.
- Huron Voyages, see Thwaite's Marquette, pp. 69, 105; Parkman's Iesuits in North America, p. 425.

#### NOTES AND BIOGRAPHY

- Radisson and Groseilliers: 11 Wis. Hist. Colls., pp. 64-96; 42 J. R., pp. 221, 296.
- Nicolas Perrot: 73 R. J. 229; Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV, Parkman; J. R. 1671; Bailey's Mackinac, 44-52; 55 J. R., 107.
- Father Claude Allouez's, account of his first visit to Les Cheneaux, 54 J. R. 197-201. For other voyages of the Jesuits see Relations for the respective years.
- La Salle, Hennepin, Tonty, and Vovage of "The Griffon;" see Parkman's La Salle; Hennepin's New Discovery, p. 114 (McClurg's Ed., 1903).
- Alexander Henry; The Conspiracy of Pontiac by Parkman, Vol. 1, p. 341.
- Grover's Father Pinet. (Chicago Hist. So. Colls.)
- For chronological lists of other voyages not above noted see histories of Mackinac in notes to Chap. I, especially Kelton, p. 114 and post, under title "Historical Events Chronologically Arranged" and Bailey's Mackinac, p. 155 and post under title "Historical Resume," see also V. Minn, Hist. Colls., pp. 399 to 470.

## CHAP. III.

Ojibways: Warren's History of the Ojibway Nation in Minn. Hist. Colls. Vol. V; Hand Book of American Indians, Vol. I. pp. 277, 281 and authorities there cited; Bureau of Am. Ethnology, Bulletin 30, part 1; Schoolcraft's Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes; Jesuit Relations Respecting the Ottawa Missions; "The American Indian," by Elijah Haines (Chicago 1888); Our Indian Predecessors the First Evanstonians, by Grover, Evanston Hist. So. Colls.

Hurons: Hand Book of American Indians, Vol. 1, pp. 584-



- 590; The Jesuits in North America, Parkman, pp. 24-54; Jesuit Relations Respecting Huron Missions; Haines Id.
- Ottawas—Vol. 2, pp. 167-172 Hand Book of American Indians, advance sheets of Am. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.; Jesuit Relations Respecting Ottawa Missions; Haines Id.
- Iroquois:—Colden's Five Nations; Schoolcrafts notes on the Iroquois; Mason's Illinois; Parkman's Jesuits in North America.

#### CHAP. IV.

- Indian Treaties of 1836 and 1855, Revision of the Indian Treaties (1873) U. S. Pub., pp. 606-619.
- Indian Trails: Hulbert's Red Men's Roads; The Indian Thoroughfares of the Central West.

## CHAP. V.

Father Piret:—"Anne," by Constance Fenimore Woolson (Harper Bros., 1899); History of the Diocese of Sault Ste Marie & Marquette by Rev. A. J. Rezek (Houghton, Mich., 1907), Vol. 1, pp. 342-344; Evanston (Ills.) Hist. Colls.

## CHAP. VII.

Chart of U. S. Lake Survey of Les Cheneaux Islands (1906-07) shows quite fully all of the islands, bays, channels, sites and locations here enumerated.

# CHAP. IX.

Tides: 55 Jesuit Relations 163; 56 Id. 137, Lt. Col. Jas. D. Graham, Am. Assn. for Advancement of Science (1860); Prof. Salisbury in "Physiography;" U. S. "Coast and Geodetic Survey Report," R. A. Harris, p. 473.



#### NOTES AND BIOGRAPHY

#### CHAP. XI.

See Henry's Travels; Parkman's Pontiac; Regarding Henry and Cadotte Minn. Hist. Colls., Vol. V—Strang's Mackinac and Mackinac Histories referred to in notes to Chapter I.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Histories of Mackinac (See list of same under notes to Chap. I). Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760, 1776.

Hennepin's New Discovery.

Parkman's Works.

Parkman Club Papers.

Indian Treaties (1873 Ed.).

Schoolcraft's Thirty Years With the Indian Tribes; Algic Researches; Red Race in America; and Notes on the Iroquois.

Warren's History of the Ojibway Nation (5 Minn. His. Colls.).

Carver's Travels.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied documents (Vols. 1 to 73, Burrows Bros. 1896).

Hand Book of American Indians, Bulletin 30—Bureau of Ethnology.

Our Indian Predecessors the First Evanstonians; Some Indian Land Marks of the North Shore; Evanston (Ills.), Hist. So. Colls.

Annals of the West (1857).

Rezek's History of the Diocese of Sault Ste Marie and Marquette.

Father Marquette by Reuben G. Thwaites (1902).

Gurdon S. Hubbard's Memoirs.

Hist. Colls. of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

# HISTORY OF LES CHENEAUX ISLANDS

Chapters from Illinois History-Mason.

Copway's Traditional History of the Ojibway Nation.

MacKenzie's Voyages in the years 1789 and 1793 and History of the Fur Trade.

Astoria-by Washington Irving.

Shea's Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi.

Voyages and Travels of John Long, an Indian Interpreter and Trader, 1768-1782 (Reprint 1904).

The Peace of Mad Anthony Wayne and the Indian Treaty of Greenville by Wilson (Greenville, Ohio, 1909).

"Anne"-Constance Fenimore Woolson.

The Historic Highways of America—Hulbert.

Charts of U. S. Lake Surveys of Straits of Mackinac and Les Cheneaux Islands.

Colden's History of the Five Nations.

The Honorable Peter White—The Lake Superior Iron Country, by Ralph D. Williams (Cleveland 1907).

The Story of Mackinac, and the Story of La Pointe in Thwaites's George Rogers Clark and Essays in Western History (McClurg, Chicago, 1903).







